Serial Records Division
Harvard College Library
Cambridge, Ma. 02138

16 PAGES
VOL. IV NO. 164

AL FAJR

JERUSALEM

PALESTINIAN WEEKLY

IS20

JUNE 24, 1983

(USPS 686-630

POSTMASTER
Send address changes to
Al-Fajr
2025 I Street N.W.
Washington, D.C.
20006

TO OUR READERS:

In compliance with the Israeli military authorities, and under the guise of the much criticized "Emergency Regulations" of 1945, Al-Fajr is required to submit all material prepared for publication in this weekly, and also in the Arabic Daily and Bi-Weekly Hebrew Edition, to the Israeli censorship authorities, who use this blanket authority excessively. The material appearing on pages labeled with letters has all been censored and expunged by the Israeli authorities. We found it necessary and relevant to publish it on these pages in the foreign edition.

RESIDENTS SEE Dangerous Motives Behind Hebron Curfew

Israeli soldiers placed the central market area in Hebron under curfew for two successive days, June 16 and 17, after allegations that a bomb was thrown at Israeli settlers in Usamah Ibn Munqeth School. Hebron residents are suspicious that the measure is an excuse to take control of the entire area, for settlement purposes.

The curfew, which was clamped on the area between the central bus station, al-Shubada' street, and Usamah Ibn Munqeth School Street, is effective between 5:00 am and 7:00 pm. Eyewitnesses say that the Israelis established three checkposts on the three streets, and prohibit anybody from entering. Meanwhile, shops remained closed, and people living in the area were ordered not to step out of their homes.

Hebron residents and public officials argue that the closure of the area aims at giving the Israelis time to make necessary inspections before taking over the area. While doubting the Israeli authorities' bomb attack allegation, Mustafa Natshe, acting mayor of Hebron, told *Al Fajr* that during the past week Israeli soldiers have been making frequent visits to the area. "They are keeping an eye on the area," he said.

The central Hebron area, known as the garages area, represents a geographical extension to the Daboyya building and the Usamah Iban Mungeth School, both of which are occupied by settler families. The central bus station building and lot, which is believed to be the target of the settlers, is jointly controlled by private individuals, Islamic *waqf* trustees and the Hebron municipality.

Natshe recalled the seizure of Usamah Ibn Munqeth School one year ago, which was initially carried out by the army. The Israeli army occupied the building, claiming that they needed it as a temporary headquarters during demonstrations which were sweeping the West Bank, including Hebron. After things returned to normal, Israeli soldiers remained in the building for seven months, after which they turned it over to settlers. Within the past year, settlers seized three other buildings near the produce market, bulldozed them, and started constructing new compounds in their place. The Hebron municipality petitioned the Israeli High Court, and obtained an order *nisi* stopping the settler's work.

Mustafa Natshe warned, "Unless the settlers are stopped, it will be the start of a forced Palestinian exodus from Hebron. Hebron and its villages have a Palestinian population of 170,000.

One of the victims of the Tal Hotel blast being treated, June 16.

PALESTINIAN WOMEN PRISONERS REFUSE TO SERVE

All 26 Palestinian prisoners in Neve Tirtza women's prison, Ramleh, are locked in their cells 23 hours a day, as part of the response by the authorities to the refusal of five women prisoners to serve food to warders or work in the kitchen. The five, plus three others, are being kept in solitary confinement.

The dispute started, according to Nazareth lawyer Walid Fahoum, on May 10, when Raja' al-Azzeh, from Dheisheh, serving 18 months, Ghada Madmouj, a Nablusi serving 27 months, Majidah Salaymeh, from Jerusalem, serving five years, Bushra al-Ma'ari, from Nablus, serving four years and 10 months, and Haifa Da'bis, serving three years, were put in solitary confinement after they refused to serve women guards and do kitchen work.

The authorities tried to break solidarity among the prisoners by pressuring Rawdah Basir, Halima Freitekh and Rabihah Dhiab, June 14, into taking the kitchen jobs. They refused and were also transferred to isolation cells. The other women are all locked in their own cells.

Fahoum said, after visiting Neve Tirtza, June 20, that a prisoners committee had met the jail administration to demand that their kitchen be separated from the guards. They also demanded equal treatment with Jewish criminal prisoners. Fahoum said that the hot water to the cells has been cut and that the women are now locked up 23 hours a day. Israel Radio reported that women are being forbidden family visits or access to TV.

The International Committee of the Red Cross knows nothing of the strike, *Al Fajr* learned when it contacted the Tel Aviv office of the organisation.

Patrick Zahnd, an official of the Red Cross in Tel Aviv, said that residents living under occupation are protected by Geneva Convention articles which prohibit forcing them to work. A separate article states internees can be employed only if they agree to work and that the jobs are "not humiliating."

Zahnd, however, held that the case of the five women does not constitute a violation of the conventions. He stated that the ICRC looks at holding the women in solitary confinement as "a disciplinary measure which is not anti-convention."

The ICRC holds that the conventions apply in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and affirmed that in principle the five women have the right to refuse to work in the kitchen.

He said he did not know the details of the case, however.

IN THIS ISSUE

Anti-Palestinian campaign in Lebanon p.9
Labour union under attack p.3
Kawkab gets independent village council p.4
Holding a people ransom. p.5
When does America interfere? p.6
Interview with Yehuda Ben Moshe p.7
Service for war victims . . . . . pp.8&9
Banned books. p.10
The Sun and The Sea; a short story by Afnan al-Qasim . . p.11
Palestinian art – in Tel Aviv next week p.13
Women's Voice – the newest magazine 16

WORKER KILLED BY BOMB BLAST

One Rafah resident was killed and three others from the Strip wounded, June 16, after they were attacked with a grenade at their work place in a hotel in Tel Aviv by an unknown assailant. The incident occurred shortly before 9:00 pm outside the Tal Hotel in the heart of Tel Aviv. Abdallah Oweidah, father of one of the wounded, told *Al Fajr* that his son and three other workers were outside the back of the hotel, drinking tea, when they were attacked. Those who were sitting down received more serious wounds than those who were standing. They were not able to identify the attacker.

The father strongly rejected *The Jerusalem Post* report which accused the workers of preparing a bomb. He said it was a lie.

An employee at the hotel named Yael, who identified herself as manager, confirmed Abdallah's story and said that the police are well aware of the facts.

After the incident a large police force besieged the area, and started investigating the incident. Meanwhile, the wounded were transferred to hospital for treatment. Kamal Ataya, 20, was pronounced dead on arrival at the hospital.

The wounded, Walid Oweidah, Mohammad Abu Alyadeh, and Omar Matar, all from the city of Gaza in the Gaza Strip, remain in Ichlov Hospital in Tel Aviv. Their conditions have improved, but the family members did not know when they are going to be released.

Some Gazans suspect the attack could have been carried out by ultra-religious people, in revenge for the death of a settler last month.

Israeli troops on patrol in the coastal region of Lebanon.

Terror Campaign Unabated

by Livia Rokach
Our Rome Correspondent

ROME, JUNE 22 — Anti-Palestinian terror continues unabated throughout occupied South Lebanon and in the areas under the control of the Gemayel regime and the so-called multinational peace forces. According to statistics released by the UNRWA office in Beirut, June 10, 30 Palestinians have been assassinated between January 1 and the first week of May, 1983. During May, six other Palestinians were wounded and one was kidnapped and disappeared. These figures are limited to South Lebanon alone and do not include prisoners detained in the area whose bodies were found outside Ansar camp and elsewhere.

Since then, other victims have been attacked, mainly by the mercenary militias in the area, charged with precisely this role.

On June 7, a Palestinian from the Jal al-Bahr neighbourhood in Tyre, Assad Hamad Hadije, was shot dead, his neighbour, Mohammad Subhar, seriously wounded and a car belonging to a third Palestinian was burned.

In the preceding week, two Palestinians, one aged 62 and the other 57, were kidnapped from the Italian-controlled zone of Sabra camp by Phalangist elements.

On June 13 at 2:00 am two Palestinians, Ahmad Noufal, 30, and Ibrahim Tahbishi, 18, were killed, and a third, Mahmoud Badawi Juma'a, was injured, following a 10-minute battle between patriotic elements in Ain al-Hilweh and the mercenary "National Guard" forces who are also camp inhabitants. During the battle, described by the occupation spokesman as a "rendering of accounts," occupation troops beseiged the camp, fired flares for illumination and covered the windows of homes in the vicinity.

On June 15 a sick and mentally retarded inhabitant of Ain al-Hilweh, Jamal Mubli, was shot dead when, frightened by occupation troops who called on him to identify himself while walking in the camp with a bag of food in his hands, he ran away. An official communique later said the man was shot, "because he tried to escape a patrol."

On June 18 to 21, a new wave of bomb attacks against Palestinians and their property caused injuries to two couples, the doorman of the UNRWA building in West Beirut, a local shop owner and their wives. Damage was also reported.

For the first time since the invasion last year, however, fear of bomb attacks is also spreading to East Beirut. A Phalangist-owned restaurant was blown up recently and three rockets landed near a school, causing the anticipated closure of all schools in the area. Three Phalangist-owned shops in West Beirut were also blown up and completely destroyed three days ago.

WAR OF ATTRITION GOES ON

One Israeli border patroller was killed, three wounded, and a tank damaged in two military attacks by nationalist fighters on Israeli positions in Lebanon during the past week. There was a noticeable decline in military operations compared with previous weeks.

The dead Israeli soldier was sergeant first class Avraham Oved, 31, from Haifa. He was killed after his patrol came under small arms fire June 21 near the village of Arab Salim, four kilometres north of Nabatiya in the central section of South Lebanon. According to Israeli military correspondents, the patrol was attacked by two fighters, who apparently hid near the road leading to the village. When the patrol approached they opened fire and then withdrew.

The three wounded were helicoptered to Israeli hospitals for treatment. Israeli troops later combed the area, but did not make any arrests.

This is the third recent attack in the area of Arab Salim, which was the centre of heavy PLO presence before the Israeli invasion.

In another incident on June 22, an Israeli tank drove over a land mine near the village of Amik, close to the *de facto* cease-fire lines in eastern Lebanon. The tank was damaged but there were no reports of injuries.

During the week of June 16-22, Israeli media recorded seven military operations against Israeli troops in Lebanon — two of which resulted in casualties and damage to military vehicles.

Israeli newspapers, nevertheless, noted that most military attacks were carried out by Lebanese nationalists. They quoted military spokesmen as saying that local Lebanese residents have been held for the first time, in connection with military attacks against Israeli troops. Moreover, the Israeli news agency (ITIM) stated that there has been a decline in the number of attacks carried out by Palestinian commandos. There was no confirmation of this report from any other source. Some observers, however, are suggesting that the present crisis within Fatah is likely to have an effect on the number of military attacks against Israeli troops.

In a related story, the curfew on the village of Deir Qanoun, in South Lebanon, was lifted after eight days, June 16. According to the Israeli media, the siege on the 3000-strong community is still on; however, food and water are not being allowed in. Israeli reports said that 76 residents from the village remain in detention.

Demonstrators in Lebanon Demand Protection

Hundreds of Palestinian residents of Burj al-Shemali refugee camp near Sidon demonstrated, June 20, to protest the murder of three women from the camp in the previous 48 hours. A fourth resident was killed, and nine others were wounded in a bomb blast in Mieh Mieh camp near Sidon, June 19. Foreign journalists who reported on the demonstration said that the protesters marched towards the Lebanese police headquarters in Sidon, demanding protection.

The protest took place in the wake of increased attacks against Palestinian residents in South Lebanon, attributed to Israeli-supported militias.

On June 18 a woman was shot and seriously wounded while on her way to Burj al-Shemali refugee camp. She died later in the hospital. The Israeli army detained several local militiamen in connection with the incident.

The Lebanese daily, *Al Nahar*, reported that two Palestinian women had earlier received threatening letters ordering them out of their homes.

An Israeli military source claimed that the Israeli army had arrested a large number of right-wing militiamen on suspicion of taking part in the attacks against the Palestinian residents. *Haaretz*, meanwhile, reported that the assaults were the work of the ultra-right 'Guardians of the Cedar' militia, which is led by Etian Saqr, a prominent friend of Israel.

In its latest report, June 6, on the situation of Palestinian refugees in South Lebanon, UNRWA said that a total of 30 residents were killed in more than 14 attacks by rightist elements. The report also said that UNRWA has been keeping the Israeli authorities informed of the harassment measures. Israel, as the occupying power, is legally responsible for the civilians' security.

Calls For Unity Surround Fatah Dispute

Concern in the Palestinian community is growing after the dispute beween opposition and mainstream factions in Fatah, the largest group in the PLO, erupted into fighting, June 20. Earlier the Revolutionary Council in Fatah had failed to produce recommendations to end the two-month old feud over political and operational issues.

Monte Carlo Radio, usually reliable on this issue, carried detailed reports of the clashes. It said that oppositon forces, led by military commander Colonel Abu Musa, moved shortly after midnight, June 20, and occupied eight Fatah positions beteen the Syrian-Lebanese border point, al-Masna', and the Lebanese town of Shtura. A rebel communique said their forces took over the Fatah military headquarters in the village of Majdal Anjar with minimal casualties on both sides.

According to the Paris-based radio station reports, three people were killed and six wounded. The communique also stated that the fighters in a Fatah base in the Beqa'a had defected to their ranks, thus helping keep casualties down. Official Fatah reports did not deny the reports, but charged the mutineers received outside assistance.

As the military moves were being made, the Fatah Revolutionary Council, the highest authority in the movement, was closing two days of meetings in Damascus. The council was attended by 45 of its 76 delegates. They established several committees to examine organisational and financial matters, many of which had been raised by critics within the movement.

In response to the deepening crisis prominent Palestinians in the occupied territories issued calls for the leadership abroad to demonstrate "utmost restraint" to counter the problem. A unanimous call was issued for both sides to resort to fraternal dialogue to resolve disputes.

Interviews made by *Al Fajr* Arabic daily reflected unanimity against the intenal clashes. Affirm-

continued on page 4

Israeli POWs Sent to Libya

According to prominent jurist and member of the Lebanese parliament, Najah Wakim, the two Israeli prisoners of war detained by Ahmad Jibril's Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command have been transferred to Libya for security reasons. The two are part of a patrol that was captured last year by Fatah and PFLP-GC troops. The other six are being held in solitary confinement by Fatah, but are believed to still be in South Lebanon.

UNRWA Under Attack

UNRWA personnel in Lebanon were attacked or harassed in three incidents, June 10. In Sidon, two cars were set on fire in front of the home of an UNRWA staff member. In Tyre, four armed and uniformed men shot through the window of a staff member's home, injuring two of his family, and an UNRWA teacher was robbed by armed, uniformed men who broke into his home.

UNRWA officials in South Lebanon notified the Israeli army ofthe incidents and Commissioner-General Olof Rydbeck has again appealed to the Israeli Mission in Vienna for all efforts to be made by Israel, as the occupying power in South Lebanon, to ensure the safety of Palestine refugees in the area of Lebanon it controls.

During the past five weeks, there has been an increase in such violent incidents, leaving eight refugees dead and a number wounded.

UNRWA staff have recently also been targets of the recent upsurge of violent incidents involving Palestinian refugees in South Lebanon.

Ransack and Raid at Construction Union Headquarters

Israeli soldiers ransacked the Construction Workers Union headquarters in Bethlehem, June 14, and seized printed material, including wall posters, books, copies of the internal by-laws, and union membership cards. The union raid is the latest in a series of recent attacks on national institutions, such as academic establishments and social clubs.

Jerusalem lawyer Mohammad Na'amneh, legal counsel for the union, contacted the Israeli legal advisor of the West Bank military governorate, and demanded that all confiscated documents be returned. So far he has not received answer. The raid occurred shortly after 4:00 pm, when the union's administrative committee convened its weekly meeting. According to the unionists, soldiers, policemen and the Shin Bet (secret police) participated in the military break-in and raid. The union headquarters was searched without a warrant and soldiers took samples of whatever they found. Soldiers also beat up one unionist because he spoke with another member while the search was underway.

The break-in was described by union president Imad Tawil as arbitrary harassment. Tawil said that legal procedures require the authorities to obtain a court permit before carrying out a search. They are also required to inform the person legally responsible of the things confiscated. After the raid the soldiers contacted Fakhri Qwaider, the owner of the building which houses the union headquarters, apparently to pressure him into throwing the construction workers out. The soldiers reportedly left him with an order summoning him before a Bethlehem area Shin Bet officer known by the name Abu Fahd. Qwaider was unavailable for comment. On the same evening, Israeli soldiers arrested administrative committee member Fuad Oweineh, 22, from his house in Battir.

The 230-member union, which represents workers connected with construction from the Bethlehem area, was established in 1981. From the day of its establishment, union leaders were subject to various forms of pressure, apparently aimed at undermining it. Imad Tawil, one of the founders, said that activists were summoned almost daily to the military headquarters for pointless questioning.

The union's office has been in Bethlehem for less than six months. During the past year and a half, the offices were temporarily based in Beit Sahour. Tawil said that it was extremely difficult to find anyone to rent office space to the union.

Earlier last week, Israeli soldiers broke into the Arab Orthodox club in nearby Beit Sahour, searched it and took the names and ID numbers of all the club's administrative committee members. Club members told *Al Fajr* that the raid's purpose was to find a pretext to close it. "If they had found a picture with the colours of the Palestinian flag, they would have used that as an exuse to close the place" one member said.

Arabs "Ignored" in US Islamic Art Exhibit

WASHINGTON, (AP) — Prominent Palestinian artist Kamal Boulatta criticised the organisers of a major US government-sponsored exhibit on Islamic folk art for ignoring the Arab world's contribution to Islamic folklore. The criticism by Boulatta was underscored by the fact that his work is the only art representation from the Arab world on permanent exhibit in the Smithsonian Institute for history in Washington, DC.

US Vice-President George Bush opened the huge art exhibit, June 2, and it is expected to continue until September 5. Boulatta said that efforts to "keep politics out" of the exhibit resulted in ignoring the centrality of the Arab contribution to Islamic folklore.

Jerusalem-born Boulatta, who has the support of Arab ambassadors in Washington, noted that out of the 235 art pieces on exhibit, 96 come from Iran, 30 from Turkey, while only 72 art pieces were from the Arab world, the centre of Islam. Twelve of those were by Boulatta.

Boulatta said that the organisers of the folklore exhibit claimed that it is religious — yet most of the works presented were of a decorative nature. He also backed his claim by pointing out that the film which is being shown during the exhibit makes no mention of al-Aqsa Mosque, considered by architects and art historians to be one of the most magnificent of Islamic buildings. Nor does the film have an Arab perspective, for it shows Muslims from Indonesia, Nigeria and other places, but does not show one Muslim from the Arab world.

Boulatta added that all he wants is that the Arab countries are rightfully represented in the exhibit. "How can you ignore 22 Arab Islamic countries in an Islamic folklore exhibit?" he asked.

Boulatta pointed to some of the art pieces labelled 'from the peninsula' and asked, "How can an American citizen from the state of Iowa, for example, know that the term 'peninsula' actually stands for the Arab peninsula? Why didn't the organisers simply credit the art piece with the complete, proper name?" (Translation: Al Quds, June 17)

Students Hold Vigil Against Comprehensive Examination

JERUSALEM — Palestinian students are up in arms, once again, against the Jordanian educational authorities' decision to enforce compliance with their directives regarding the necessity of passing the 'comprehensive examination.'

Students have recently intensified their campaign against the examination, which they reject as useless and discriminatory.

They are demanding its total abolition.

Hundreds of protestors held a half-day vigil at the headquarters of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) for Palestine Refugees, to press their demands.

The students have presented West Bank educational authorities with a list of demands, calling for an end to threats to close down their educational institutions, and urging re-instatement of the former system, whereby educational authorities were satisfied with diplomas or certificates, without the need for a student to pass the comprehensive examination.

Dheishans Fear Youth Centre Permanently Closed

BETHLEHEM — The officers in charge of the youth centre of the Palestinian refugee camp at Dheisheh, near Bethlehem, lodged a protest against what appears to be the permanent closure of the centre.

The centre, administered by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA), has been shut for 16 months.

A youth delegation travelled to Hebron yesterday to complain to the area military officer against the closure of the centre which provides vital social services to the camp youth.

A UNRWA health officer visited the camp June 21 on an inspection tour and listened to residents' complaints about the unhygienic conditions in the camp.

The camp, one of the biggest concentrations of Palestinian erugees in the West Bank, lacks the barest amenities, they said.

Residents are worried about the current unsanitary situation within the camp perimeter. They say the sewage system is primitive: there are not sufficient pipes or manholes, and some outlets lack proper cover, increasing the risk of contamination and infection.

Adnan Damiri, Sa'eb Arakat, and Shaul Vogel at a Najah U. press conference in Jerusalem.

Najah U. Protests Closure

Al-Najah University officials appealed to the Israeli and world public to pressure the occupation authorities into re-opening the institution. Speaking at an East Jerusalem press conference, June 20, Sa'eb Arakat, public relations director at the Nablus school, said 700 students will now graduate six months late, creating a lack of space for nest year.

Arakat said faculty deans at al-Najah have been studying the legal situation created by the three months' closure ordered at the beginning of the month following clashes between soldiers and students. He said they do not know whether teaching classes would be permitted during the closure.

Student council chairman Adnan Damiri showed reporters his shaved head. Released from al-Fara'a detention centre, June 19, Damiri said his hair was cut off by guards at the centre. He explained he was detained because of his position on the council and was not interrogated by the Israelis. He pointed out to reporters that student council member Rashed Zorba had been "severely beaten" in detention.

The university's lawyer, Jawad Boulos, said 100-150 students from al-Najah are detained every week.

Arakat also introduced Professor Shaul Vogel of the Israeli Committee for Solidarity with Bir Zeit University, who said the issue of academic freedom was vital and that the extent to which Israelis would move on the issue of al-Najah depended on press coverage.

All those at the conference expressed concern that Israel would try to implement military order 854, allowing the authorities to control education in the occupied territories. Arakat announced that the board of trustees members were presently in Amman discussing the issue of the anti-PLO work permits, promulgated by Israel this year, with 20 expelled al-Najah professors.

Pupils Arrested in Pre-Exam Swoop

The Israeli daily *Haaretz* reported that the Israeli authorities arrested, June 16, 20 youths from the Ama'ari refugee camp two days before they were to start taking the *tawjihi* exams. The Israeli newspaper quoted Israeli officials saying that the arrested had been identified by photos taken during demonstrations.

The Israeli officials admitted that the 12th grade students will not be able to apply for the matriculation exams under detention. The officials told *Haaretz* this is not a new method of punishment, indicating that "they cannot be easy on stone throwers."

Al Ittihad Haifa-based communist daily, reported, June 23, that seven Nablus students were also arrested while they were taking the *tawjihi* exams. Of the seven, *Al Ittihad* mentioned Sami Khatib and Misbah Hawash. The paper also reported that eight out of the 20 students arrested in Ramallah were released two days after the start of the exams, which means that they will fail the very important high school test.

An *Al Ittihad* correspondent in the West Bank reported that a number of Palestinian *tawjihi* students are sleeping away from home in order to avoid being arrested during the exam period.

THIS WEEK'S CENSORSHIP

Following is a breakdown of censorship cuts for issue 164, June 24, 1983:

Number of original articles submitted to censors	20
Number of articles totally censored out	4
Number of articles partially censored but used	1
Number of articles passed	15

KAWKAB TO HAVE COUNCIL

After four years of requests, petitions and protests, the residents of the village of Kawkab in the western Galilee were granted permission, June 18, to establish a local council. The reply to the popular demand was announced by the Israeli interior ministry secretary, Haim Koparsky, during a meeting of the education committee. The Israeli decision follows a similar decision to grant the Arab villages of Alot and Beneh, near Nazareth, similar status. Kawkab residents, expresing satisfaction at the decision, expect the establishment of the local council will bring government funding to the village and will improve the social standing of the village, which is in need of many essential services.

Nathem Bader, secretary for the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality in the Knesset explained to *Al Fajr* the reasons behind the granting of the demands of the majority of the 2000 residents of Kawkab village: "All the requirements for council status were met a long time ago. Social services to the villagers are in bad shape and the government was unable to continue to deny the demands. A recent petition was signed by over 80 percent of the village's population." The secretary for the predominantly Israeli Communist Party (Rakah) Knesset bloc said that the earlier granting of local council status to the villages of Alot and Beneh made it impossible to continue ignoring Kawkab.

The continuous efforts of the Rakah-dominated bloc no doubt played a decisive role in the government's reply. Bader told *Al Fajr* that Knesset members Tawfiq Toubi and Tawfiq Zayyad had tabled two or three motions on behalf of the three villages, requesting an immediate reply.

Local sources from the village of Kawkab expect the government's decision to make life easier. Awad Abdel Fattah, journalist and member of the local Kawkab committee, told *Al Fajr* that the new status will ease the pressures on villagers' pockets. "During the past years the residents have underwritten essential projects in the village." Abdel Fattah also noted that with the new local council, the council head will be paid a full time salary which will improve the efficiency of projects. "Until now, all efforts have been on a voluntary basis."

Students of Dar al-Tifl School, Jerusalem, during celebrations marking the end of the school year, June 13.

Strike Ends, Exams at Islamic U.

Life at the Islamic University of Gaza returned to normal, June 12, following an agreement between administration and employees which brought an end to the latter's three-week strike. The agreement, which means final exams for 200 students will now go ahead, came about after public pressure on the university administration.

A delegation consisting of 40 mukhtars, village council heads, school principals, and mosque heads from various parts of the Gaza Strip, met the university president, Dr Mohammad Sagr, and the board of trustees. After talks which went on throughout most of the night, the two parties concluded an agreement to end the strike and counter-measures taken by the administration.

The employees union elected unilaterally last month will be frozen and new polls will held by the end of the month; students who came out in solidarity with striking teachers will be allowed to take exams, and warning notices against teachers will be cancelled.

The university board of trustees pledged to intervene with the Israeli authorities to secure the release of nearly 15 students who were detained after clashes in the university, May 31, between nationalists and Islamic bloc suporters.

The reconciliation meeting was organised at the neighbouring al-Azhar Religious Institute, where Mohammad Awwad, dean of the Institute, Dr Mohammad Saqr, president of the university, and Mohammad Abu Amarah spoke affirming the agreement. Commenting on the agreement, one of the students who participated in the solidarity strike said that under the present conditions, the agreement was "the best that could have been achieved."

The four-year-old Islamic University, with 2500 students, went through three weeks of turmoil, between May 21 and June 11, when nearly 80 lecturers and 20 employees were on strike after the university administration refused to recognise the union they established. The problem reached its height on May 31, after thugs from outside the university, and some of the university gate keepers tried to break the strike by force.

Woman Fined For 'Anti-Israel Colours'

A Palestinian woman from Um al-Fahm was fined IS40,000 and given a four month suspended sentence, June 19, for displaying in her private nursery a green, black, red and white wooden plaque — an offence against the Tamir Law which outlaws sympathy with a "terrorist" organisation. I'tidal Anis Aghbariyya, 23, director of a local nursery school in the Triangle village, received the sentence as part of a plea bargaining arrangement between her lawyer and the Israeli prosecutor.

The Israeli judge at the Hadera magistrate court refused to accept defence arguments that the private nursery was not a public place. The court ruled that Aghbariyya showed, by displaying the plaque bearing the colours of the Palestinian flag, "support for a hostile terrorist organisation."

Defence attorney Haim Kasav, who said he felt he'd helped his client stay out of jail and reduced her fine (the maximum fine for the offence is IS250,000), was bewildered when told that the colours mentioned in the charge sheet are also those of the Jordanian and Kuwaiti flags. "But these countries are anti-Israel," he thought. On being told that the same colours appear in the Egyptian flag, he noted to *Al Fajr*, "If I had known that two days ago I might not have plea bargained."

Villagers denied an Israel Radio report that the police had arrested the woman after receiving complaints from people whose children attended the nursery.

FREIJ MEETING WITH PERES DISCLOSED

Yossi Beilin, spokesman for Shimon Peres, confirmed, June 21, that the leader of the Labour Party had met with Bethlehem Mayor Elias Freij before the latter left for Amman, June 10.

The news was leaked by the Israeli government Arabic mouthpiece *Al Anba'*, June 13. The Israeli paper said Freij had gone secretly to Jordan for talks with senior officials. He is expected to go from there to the US and Canada.

The meeting between Freij and the senior Israeli politician took place at the Bethlehem municipality. Peres attended alone.

Beilin said the two discussed current political issues such as the prospects for peace in the Middle East and the US role in such a process. The spokesman said that Peres did not send any message to King Hussein of Jordan. "It is one of the many regular meetings which he has held with Freij," he said, insisting there was nothing special in it.

He confirmed that Freij would brief Peres when he returns, "as he always does." Beilin told *Al Fajr* that Peres also held regular meetings with other West Bank and Gaza Strip leaders such as ex-mayor of Gaza Rashad Shawwa .

The Bethlehem mayor's journey comes shortly after a recent meeting with the 'civil adminstration' and only a few months after his last trip to Egypt and European capitals.

GALILEE HARASSMENT

NAZARETH — Israeli police authorities are intensifying their campaign of harassment against Arab youths in the Triangle suspected of sympathising with or being active in anti-Israeli movements.

The police recently launched a wide-scale investigation of youth movements in Kufr Qara', summoning several Arabs for interrogation, and charging them with subversion.

For the second time in less than a month, Younes Massarweh was brought to police headquarters and charged with raising the Palestinian flag and writing hostile slogans.

Several others, also interrogated with Massarweh, accused the police of intimidation.

continued from page 2

Unity Calls

ing that the PLO was the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, personalities called for non-intervention in its affairs, except for advisory purposes, by outside elements.

Dr Haidar Abd al-Shafi, director of the Red Crescent Society in Gaza, described the recent clashes in the Beqa'a valley as "sorrowful." Abd al-Shafi said that since the dispute is confined to Fatah it must be solved internally. He urged that outside intervention should be aimed at resolving differences.

Bassam Shaka'a, the elected mayor of Nablus, stressed that it was natural that new issues and questions would arise after the war in Lebanon. He noted that Yasir Arafat is still the PLO leader and urged that new ideas and questions should be discussed and that the unity of the Palestinian struggle should not be jeopardised by internal fighting.

Dr Azmi Shuabi, member of the dismissed al-Bireh local council, insisted that the differences can and should be solved within the PLO. He stated that what is taking place in the Beqa'a is reflecting itself in the occupied territories in a negative manner. "It is our right in the occupied territories to demand that military clashes should cease," he said.

Karim Khalaf, elected mayor of Ramallah, called for a united stand behind the leadership of "brother Yasir Arafat" and for the aborting of attempts to intervene in Palestinian decision making. Khalaf urged Arab states to give support to the PLO in order to achieve the national goal of a Palestinian state.

Ma'moun Sayyed, a Ramallah journalist, said that solving the dispute within Fatah should be carried out by the movement's Central Committee, the Revolutionary Council and the movement conference. "Since the Revolutionary Counci has reached a dead-end, the conference should be convened to deal with the problem," he said.

Al Fajr Daily Supplement

As of July 1, 1983 *Al Fajr Jerusalem Palestinian weekly* will publish a daily supplement of English translations of selected local news items published in the four Arabic dailies: *Al Fajr*, *Al Shaab*, *Al Ittihad* and *Al Quds* .. The translations, which will be of the same day's newspapers, will also include abridged versions of the editorials appearing in the four dailies. This new service by the *Al Fajr* (English) staff will reflect the same high standards of accuracy and quality of English translations as *Al Fajr Weekly*.

The supplement — under the heading "The Jerusalem Dawn" — will be hand-delivered daily, by lunchtime, except on Sundays, to subscribers at the address they prefer.

A service charge of US $50 per month is requested for the subscription.

Cheques may be sent to *Al Fajr* newspaper, P.O. Box 19315, Jerusalem. For additional information, please ask at *Al Fajr* (English) offices, 2 Hatem Ta'ee Street, Jerusalem Telephone: 281-035.

The Dawn

ALFAJR

Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly

Publisher:
Paul A. Ajlouny
Editor-in-chief:
H. S. Sinibra
Managing editor:
Sam'an Khoury

Al-Fajr was founded in 1972 by Yousef Nasr who edited the paper until his kidnapping in 1974. The English edition was first published in April 1980.

The Dawn (Al-Fajr) JERUSALEM Palestinian Weekly (USPS 686-630) is published weekly for $40.00 per year by Paul Ajlouny, 16 Crowell St., Hempstead, N.Y. 11550. Second class postage paid at Hempstead, N.Y.

POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Al-Fajr 2025 I Street N.W., Suite 925, Washington, D.C. 20006

Telex nos:
Jerusalem: 26467 omar il
Washington: 64677 omar uv

School Games

Forty high school students spent two nights and days in military detention last weekend for no apparent reason. They were released without charge just in time to miss the start of their final examinations. This arbitrary 48-hour detention will cost them the repitition of one academic year – a bitter sentence to students and families for whom education is still considered a luxury.

The timing of the arrest of these 18-year-olds was not just coincidence. For years the occupation authorities have targetted high school students at exam time, detaining them for useless questioning for hours, sometimes for days.

The final year *tawjihi* students are the most vulnerable. Their nine-day certificate examinations are administered only once per year, in two halves, at pre-arranged times. There is no make up or postponements. Palestinian students must pass the Jordanian exam in order to continue their studies at university level. Many places of employment also require new employees to have *tawjihi* certificates. Although progressive educators consider the exam archaic and even damaging because it reinforces rote learning, it is still short of a Palestinian state next year crucial to the futures of these students.

At least half of the detained students were in their last year at the Hashimiyeh military government-administered school in al-Bireh. Two months ago the Hashimiyeh was ordered closed by the military authorities. The claim was that students from this school had joined others from the town in anti-occupation demonstrations. Not only was the school closed but all of the students in the first and second year classes were automatically failed by military fiat and forced to repeat the scholastic year. Those in their final year, the *tawjihi* students, escaped retaliation then. But on the eve of the *tawjihi* exam they were arrested.

What the Israeli military authorities have accomplished is an out-of-court charging, trying and sentencing of innocent students. And because the military authorities know they would be seen as innocent even in the stacked deck of a military court, they use a different game. They manipulate forbidding the extending of the semester, lengthening vacations, ordering closures and punish students without cause or legal recourse, showing how thin is the facade of their rule of law.

AL FAJR - Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: ONE YEAR: US $40

I WISH TO SUBSCRIBE TO AL FAJR

NAME . . . . . .
ADDRESS . . . . . .
ENCLOSED IS A CHEQUE FOR THE AMOUNT
DATE . . . . . SIGNED

Mail to:
In US:
Al Fajr Palestinian Weekly
2025 Eye St. NW, Suite 925
Washington, DC 20006 USA

HOLDING A PEOPLE RANSOM

by Livia Rokach
Our Rome Correspondent

JUNE 22 – The Beirut-based Committee of the Families of the Prisoners, Kidnapped and Missing has stepped up its activities in recent weeks, presenting demands to various Lebanese authorities to urgently provide information on the fate of over 1000 persons known to have disappeared since September 1982 and of hundreds detained since then by the Lebanese army and security services. Among others, the committee paid visits to the military general prosecutor and militant Phalangist Ass'ad Germanos, to the deputy president of the parliament, Abu Fadel, to various parliamentarians, and has now undertaken to contact all the Arab embassies in Beirut to this end. The committee has also addressed another appeal to Lebanese President Amin Gemayel, who has yet to reply to any of their previous requests in favour of the prisoners.

The content of some of these meetings is particularly instructive. Germanos – who on June 19 presented Amin Gemayel with the report of the "enquiry" on the Sabra-Shatila massacres, the conclusion of which is that Israelis are solely and exclusively responsible – "promised to make every possible effort to stop the bloodshed (against the prisoners)" and then asked the committee to "separate the issues." He considers himself, he said, 100 percent responsible for each *Lebanese* person arrested by the legal authorities, and is ready to provide every detail on the date, place and circumstances of the arrest and imprisonment of such (Lebanese) persons. However, "as far as *non-Lebanese* – a term used in Beirut to designate Palestinians – are concerned, it is not his responsibility but a matter concerning the security services. Certainly if these persons are innocent they will be released." Germanos also said that he was ready to arrange for *Lebanese* prisoners to be visited by their relatives.

As for the kidnapped and missing: "This is none of my business as a military prosecutor, but as a Lebanese citizen I will do everything possible to help because as such I am opposed to bloodshed." When the committee pointed out that the Lebanese government ought to demand the "Lebanese Forces" hand over the abducted persons so as to bring them legally to trial if they had committed any offence, Germanos repliedit would be better to interpolate through Prime Minister and Interior Minister Shafiq al-Wazzan (who has refused all attempts to discuss the matter with him in the past few months).

Abu Fadel promised he would get the lists of abducted persons to Amin Gemayel (Gemayel now has piles of copies) and to intervene with "this man, who is full of love for his people..." in favour of the Phalangist-abducted missing.

Similarly hoping to break the united front of Palestinian and Lebanese relatives of the prisoners and missing, Lebanese civilian general prosecutor Kamil Jaja made a public statement that all Lebanese prisoners will be released after they make a public statement that they will not engage in political activities. As for "non-Lebanese" prisoners, "they are still under interrogation (since September 1982) and magistrates have not yet been able to determine whether their presence in Lebanon has been legitimate." Their destiny? "They will either be released, or expelled, or put on trial..."

Meanwhile, on the eve of Ramadan, the wives of Palestinian and Lebanese abducted by the official and unofficial Lebanese Maronite terror agencies addressed a separate appeal to President Amin Gemayel. They asked the Lebanese president to make special efforts for the release of their husbands, "who have been shut in illegal caves and underground labyrinths for 10 months," so as to save them "before it is too late."

In fact, there is no doubt that now is a crucial moment for the fate of prisoners and missing held hostage by the pro-Phalangist state and the Phalangist terror groups in Lebanon. Never, in fact, has it been so clear that the lives of these many hundreds of persons, in particular the Palestinians of both sexes and all ages, abducted inside or outside the Beirut camps, who have become, in the eyes of the Phalangists, a means of pressure and blackmail for the demand that Palestinians as well as Syrian forces be withdrawn from Lebanese territory.

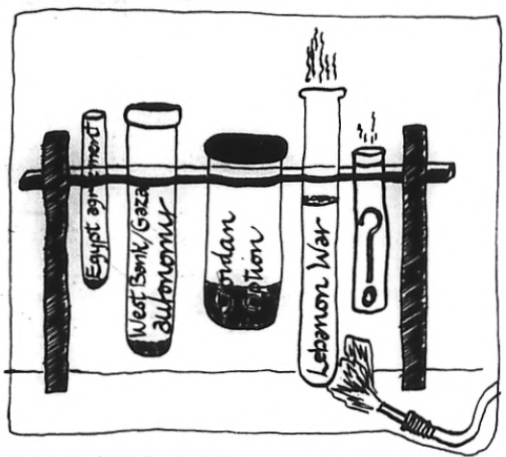
Suspecting Palestinian aid to the Lebanese National Resistance Movement(LNRM), whose operations are gaining momentum and may ultimately be capable of putting an end to Phalangist hegemonic efforts, the Lebanese regime and the "Lebanese Forces" are intensifying these pressures and using their hostages as their strongest card. The constant pressure by the Gemayel government on Italy and France to withdraw their units from the Beirut camps and send them to the Shouf mountains to "make a partial Israeli retreat from this area possible," must also be understood in this context. If such pressures were to be successful – and that cannot be decided until a new Italian cabinet is constituted following next week's elections – not only the prisoners and missing, but the remaining civilian population of Beirut, will become hostage to this blackmail.

At this point the lives of these hostages, who have already gone through every imaginable hell in the past few months, are linked to two fragile hopes: a rapid change in the military balance of forces and much greater pressure on the regime. The former is made extremely difficult by the ongoing Israeli presence and the profound and energy-consuming divisions in the Palestinian leadership. Lebanese and international public opinion has so far failed to mobilise anything like the pressure that could force the regime to reassess its policy.

OPINION

Self-Entrapment

by Yehuda Ben Moshe



It seems that even a nation with as talented an image and with as impressive a historical record as the Jewish people sometimes blindly enters a trap from which it can free itself only by intellectual courage and by its own determined efforts. This seems to be the case with Israel's relationship towards the Palestinian people, its national aspirations and political rights, that were shaped over the recent decades. That relationship has taken an absurd and paradoxical course since 1947, when the World Zionist leadership and the large majority of Jews in Palestine realistically accepted the UN resolution of the partition of Palestine into Jewish and Arab states with an international Jerusalem.

Of course, the political and military development of our region since then substantially affected the specific details of the UN resolution of that time, especially by abolishing completely any version of internationalisation of Jerusalem. But the principle of partition had never been officially withdrawn by the Jewish side, at least until the Six Day War of 1967. Only since then, mainly as a result of Israel's impressive and surprising victory in that war of survival and the acquisition of all Mandatory Palestine (plus Sinai and the Golan Heights), did our territorial appetite grow to its present dimensions. Whatever fell into our hands as an unforeseen result of Egyptian,Syrian and Jordanian military initiative became in the eyes of a large segment of Israeli society a permanent state of affairs and the insistence on keeping all of it forever slowly turned into a national and religious axiom of fundamental value.

Since then, many Israelis have become blind prisoners of a political situation that undoubtedly appealed to our national self esteem and exaggerated enjoyment of a new and impressive Middle Eastern power status. Closing our eyes to regional and international reality, many Israelis hoped and assumed that somehow we could manage to retain our territorial acquisitions and at the same time achieve peace with Arab neighbours and acceptance of our new status by the international community.

It should now be clear enough to any thoughtful and realistic Israeli that permanent retention of the present territorial situation and the achievement of peace, and even political recognition by large and important parts of the international community, are incompatible. The convincing proof of this conclusion is Israel's peace agreement with Egypt, and anybody hoping in 1979 that by giving back to Egypt the whole of Sinai (including Yamit) we would get 'free hands' in Samaria and Judea (the West Bank), by now has learned the lesson of that mistaken expectation.

The peace agreement with Egypt not only committed us to return the whole of Sinai but also obliged the prime minister of Israel to officially recognise the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people (never mind the unprecise Hebrew translation of "the Arabs of Samaria, Judea and the district of Gaza"). Is it really imaginable to expect the compatibility on the side of any important member of the international community of recognising the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people with the establishment of Israeli settlements all over the West Bank right up to upper Nablus? Is this compatible with an official Israeli policy of "readiness to negotiate without prior conditions?"

The same unrealistic attitude on the side of Israel's present leadership (and also of a considerable part of the opposition) finds its expression in that peculiar exercise called autonomy. Deriving from Ze'ev Jabotinsky's scheme in the completely different situation of Russian Jewry at the end of the last century, it became Menachem Begin's somewhat bizarre contribution to the Camp David accords of 1979. The mere acceptance of that idea by the American and Egyptian partners to the Camp David negotiations always has been a riddle to my mind, but then it has been stated by presidents Carter and Sadat that the autonomy scheme of Prime Minister Begin was looked upon by them as a temporary arrangement, over a five year transitory period at most, towards some kind of permanent national status for the Palestinians, acceptable by them and by the supportive Arab world. The mere fact of more than three years of apathetic negotiations, interrupted from time to time by organic disturbances on one side or the other, without producing up to now any tangible results whatsoever, serves as convincing testimony to the regrettable sterility of this tragi-comic performance.

continued on page 13

When Does America Interfere?

by Sid Bachrach

After following the press reports concerning the forced induction and incarceration of Israel Hirsch, son of (Neturei Karta spokesman) Rabbi Moshe Hirsch, into the Israeli army, what interested me most were the accounts of American involvement in the affair. Israel Hirsch is an American citizen, living in the international city of Jerusalem (as recognised by the government of the USA and the United Nations). Yet the Israeli army and minister of defence view him as subject to their laws of conscription, since the Israeli Law of Defence Service obliges all permanent residents to enter military service, not only citizens of Israel, provided the person has a Jewish (religious) background.

The American standpoint is that its citizens are forbidden to serve in foreign armies or they will forfeit their US citizenship. But some strange ruling was made in 1965-66 to allow Americans with Jewish (religious) backgrounds to be drafted "against their will" (sic) into the Israeli army and retain their US citizenship. This is implemented by each American draftee writing a letter to the American Consulate stating that he/she is being drafted into Israeli military service against his/her will and not volunteering to serve (which many would do).

So, when I heard the reports of Israel Hirsch's case I thought maybe the Americans might be reconsidering their policies concerning citizens serving (illegally, from the US point of view) in foreign armies. And why not? Have not US citizens like Alan Goodman, of the Temple Mount killings (April '82) fame, brought a little embarrassment to his country of origin and continuing legal defender?

CONSULATE GENERAL OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
JERUSALEM

May 31, 1983

Mr. Sid Bachrach

Dear Mr. Bachrach:

I refer to your letter of May 9 concerning your possible conscription into the Israel Defense Forces.

The Government of the United States strongly opposes the service of American citizens in the armed forces of another state. However, I must point out to you that each nation is free to determine who, within its jurisdiction, is subject to compulsory military jurisdiction. Therefore, if, as a permanent resident of Israel, you are subject to conscription into the Israeli military, this office will not intervene with the Government of Israel to bar said induction.

I hope that the foregoing has been responsive to your inquiry.

Sincerely,

Howard C. Kavaler
American Consul

I could only sadly tell that as of my meeting with US consulate official Howard Kavaler on June 12 at the American consulate in East Jerusalem, I was informed that the Americans had no involvement in the release of Israel Hirsch and have not changed their policy concerning American citizens who are conscripted and serve in the Israeli army.

I was told by Mr Kavaler politely that his office had also told this to Moshe Hirsch but that he didn't wish to believe that there was no American involvement in his son's release.

I asked further if the US consulate was writing the newspapers to correct these misinterpretations or misrepresentations of American involvement or change of policy, and I was told the press section merely answered when called, that there was no involvement or change in policy. Just as I was being told in my meeting with him.

Why does this bother me? I'm also a US citizen, and a pacifist who came to Jerusalem to work in education and in the furthering of understanding, reconciliation and peace. When I write my letters to the US consulate stating I do not wish to be conscripted into the Israeli army, I really mean it, not like some of my compatriots. I've been rewarded with a letter from the consul stating: "The government of the US strongly opposes the service of US citizens in the armed forces of another state. However, I must point out to you that each nation is free to determine who, within its jurisdiction, is subject to compulsory military induction."

So I conclude that the American standpoint is quite confusing. Jerusalem is not Israel, rather an international city — according to official American statement of policy — and US citizens should not serve in foreign armies. Still they refuse to interfere when these policies are challenged. Maybe I was naive and thought in the case of Israel Hirsch a new, clear American policy was evolving; I guess not.

I note also that the American consul also refused to help me in my request to overrule the Israeli citizenship imposed on my two children born in the "international city" of Jerusalem and consequently bureaucratically "abducted" by the Israeli authorities against the will of their parents, who are foreign citizens. This happened only because one of their parents has a Jewish (religious) background. When these infants grow to be 18, will the government of the US still be holding to its "non-interference" policies?

A CONVERSATION WITH YEHUDA BEN MOSHE

"We Are No Saints"

by Daoud Kuttab

He was the first head of the Eilat local council. Its second mayor. A top Jewish sharpshooter in the 1948 war. His parents were killed in the Holocaust. His circle of friends included such names as Golda Meir, David Ben Gurion, Shimon Peres, Yitzak Rabin and Moshe Sharett. He supports the Palestinians' right to self-determination and believes that there is no alternative to a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza with its capital in Jerusalem. His name is Yehuda Ben Moshe.

What is a man with such unquestioned loyalty for Israel doing supporting what is attacked by many of his compatriots as an anti-Israeli solution? "I support a Palestinian state, because I think that it is in the best interest of Israel for the Palestinians to have a state of their own," he told Al Fajr *in an exclusive interview last week.*

Who is Yehuda Ben Moshe?

Yehuda Ben Moshe was born in Berlin in 1922. His mother was gassed in Auschwitz and his father died of diabetes because the Nazis would not give him insulin. In November 1938 he was appointed commander of 16 Jewish fighters after *crystalnacht*, when the Nazis destroyed millions of dollars worth of Jewish property after Hitler had fingered them as responsible for an attack on the parliament building. As a reward for his efforts Ben Moshe was helped to immigrate to Palestine.

In November 1940 Ben Moshe joined the British army and was later a member of the Jewish Brigade. He fought in the western desert, stationed in Benghazi. He wrote one of his many books on the Jewish Brigade.

After serving in underground cells in Europe, Ben Moshe returned to Palestine and joined Kibbutz Manara in Upper Galilee. There he met Yitzkak Rabin's sister and through her developed friendship with her brother, who would later become Israel's prime minister. During the 1948 war Ben Moshe fought in the battle of Latrun. He credits former Israeli Chief of Staff Haim Laskoff with saving his life during the war.

After the establishment of the state of Israel, Ben Moshe joined *Mapai* (the Labour Party) and was appointed the secretary to the director of the department of organisation.

"You need an army of your own to protect you."/JN

During the '50s Ben Moshe heeded the call of his idol, Prime Minister David Ben Gurion who had appealed for volunteers to go to Eilat. Ben Moshe notes that Israel had taken Eilat by a trick. "When the armistice agreement between the Arabs and Israel was signed, it specified that no party was allowed to advance or reinforce positions. Israel badly wanted a Red Sea port so we provoked a battle in the north which gave us an excuse to forcibly take it over," explained Ben Moshe. The Egyptians complained that Eilat was only a military base with no inhabitants and it was then that Ben Gurion made his call for 'pioneers'.

In 1952 Ben Moshe was one of the few Ashkenazi settlers in a town made up of Moroccan immigrants who had been directed to settle there. He was appointed head of the local council. After leaving for a short while, he was brought back to serve as mayor of the newly created municipality.

Ben Moshe grew disillusioned with his hero at the time of the Lavon affair. Ben Moshe reported on the story for the army newspaper. Lavon was minister of defence after Ben Gurion briefly quit the government at the beginning of the '60s. He was made to carry the can for a botched sabotage mission carried out by Israel against US targets in Egypt. The Israelis, or a faction in the defence ministry and army working behind the minister's back and loyal to Ben Gurion, wanted to break rapprochement between Egypt and the US. Ben Moshe later wrote a doctoral thesis on the affair. "I thought Ben Gurion was dead wrong that time," said Ben Moshe.

After his marriage in 1960 he took up tour guiding, a job he has continued in until today. He is a member of the tour guides controller committee.

Slander Law

In 1965 Ben Moshe left the Labour Party to join Uri Avneri's new Knesset list. Avneri, editor of the popular weekly *Haolam Hazeh*, was opposed to a proposed slander law that would limit the scope of the press. "I believe strongly in the right for the freedom of expression and I joined Avneri to defend the principle," argued Ben Moshe. Ben Moshe was in charge of the Jerusalem elections office, which he ran from his house, and as he predicted the list won two seats. Ben Moshe was seventh on the list.

Ben Moshe now spends most of his time translating (he has translated a number of books from German to Hebrew), taking tourist around the country and touring the world lecturing.

In June 1970 after a lecture at Hunter College in New York, a number of his Jewish friends asked him to give lectures around the US. They were surprised with what he said, saying it was the first time anyone had spoken critically of Israel.

Since about that time, Ben Moshe has been convinced that the Palestinian option is the only thing that would bring lasting peace to the region. Being Jewish, an Israeli and a survivor of the Holocaust, Ben Moshe says he gained a lot of credibility with American Jewish audiences.

One of Ben Moshe's main themes is that Israel is "no saint." He related to *Al Fajr* one of the examples he gives audiences. "Between '48 and '67 official Israeli spokesmen talked about barbaric Syrian shooting from the Golan Heights. In fact we had brought about the shelling ourselves. In the armistice agreement of 1949 both sides agreed not to strengthen positions. But when we drained the 12 kilometre Holeh swamp in the upper Galilee we in fact improved our military position because with the swamp drained our ground forces were able to advance." Ben Moshe, who lived in the Mannara kibbutz in the upper Galilee argues, "had we attempted to work out with the Syrians what we planned to do we could have reached a mutual agreement that would have avoided the shellings."

A friend of Golda Meir, David Ben Gurion and Yitzhak Rabin...and a supporter of a Palestinian state/JN

Ben Moshe also strongly criticises Israeli policy in regards to the dispersal of the residents of Ikrit and Birim who were asked to leave their homes during the 1948 war — "for a few weeks." They have never been allowed to return despite a High Court judgment in their favour. Ben Moshe recalls that he brought the case up with former Israeli Prime Minster the late Golda Meir. "She replied that if we allow them to return to Ikrit and Birim the next thing they would want to return to Jaffa." Ben Moshe has participated in every demonstration against the authorities' refusal to allow the villagers home.

Palestinian State

Since the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, Ben Moshe has been convinced that there is no alternative to a Palestinian state. He feels very strongly on the issue and has lectured and written in newspapers both here and in the United States. When Ben Moshe was asked to speak at the American Institute in Jerusalem he insisted that a Palestinian would lecture there as well. The institute agreed.

Not everything that Ben Moshe submitted to newspapers has been published. He displays a cupboard full of articles submitted but never printed. "I keep them on record for an important reason," said the survivor of the Holocaust. "If I am ever told that I didn't speak out I would have evidence to show the contrary."

Ben Moshe says that he is ready to meet with the Palestinians' leader. "I would like to sit down and talk substance with (PLO Chairman Yasir) Arafat, not nonsense like Avneri and (Reserve General Matityahu) Peled." If negotiations take place, Ben Moshe says he would prefer that during them "no violence should be perpetrated by either side. We are no saints you know," he explained. On another common topic of speculation he also has controversial views. Ben Moshe does not see the necessity of a demilitarised Palestinian state. "You need to have an army of your own to protect you," he points out with unusual logic.

On the question of settlements, Ben Moshe is very clear. "We should vacate all West Bank and Gaza settlements, but not destroy them like in Yamit." Ben Moshe feels that the settlements "take the wind out of the sails of Israeli public policy. How can we say that we are ready to negotiate without prior conditions when we continue to build and live in West Bank settlements?" He disagrees with Israel's major political parties in that he also doesn't see the need for settlements in the Jordan Valley, for two reasons. "First, the Jordan Valley settlements will be trapped if a Palestinian state is established and we would be forced in times of need to rescue them. Secondly, the Palestinian state, which I hope will be established within five years, will not be economically strong and might need to expand. If we are settled in the Jordan Valley the small Palestinian state might choose to expand in the direction of Acre and the Triangle."

When answering his critics about losing a short cut from Jerusalem to Tiberias, Ben Moshe feels that with good will some kind of deal could be worked out with the new Palestinian state. "We can arrange to use the Jordan Valley road, maybe, in return for a similar corridor between Hebron and the Gaza Strip."

Camp David

Ben Moshe says he was surprised by the Camp David agreement. He laughs at the way Begin translated the term "legitimate rights of the Palestinians" to the "inhabitants of Judea and Samaria," despite the fact that the English copy is the only officially accepted version. "I think that by ignoring the problem of the Palestinians we were unable to find the comprehensive peace that Sadat talked about," said Ben Moshe. He sees the way to reach this comprehensive peace as follows. "First, Israel must make a one-sided announcement saying clearly that we are ready to accept partition and to declare unequivocally the right of Palestinians to self-determination."

Ben Moshe hopes that after these Israeli moves, the Palestinians would declare unequivocally their willingness to accept the agreement reached as final. "Palestinians must be realistic and realise that they can no longer have the whole of Palestine, and thus accept the principal of partition," he said. In this context Ben Moshe, an active supporter of Peace Now, complained of a lack of what he called a Palestinian Peace Now. "I regret the fact that there is no organised public Palestinian forum in which Peace Now and other liberal Israeli groups could cooperate," he complained. Ben Moshe says that Likud supporters always criticise him about the absence of such Palestinian peace groups. When informed that even the Israeli-supported Village Leagues were not allowed to organise into a political party, Ben Moshe discounted them and vowed to do all he could to make sure

"By ignoring the problem of the Palestinians we were unable to find the comprhensive peace Sadat talked of."/JN

continued on page 13

INTERVIEW WITH DOV IRMYA

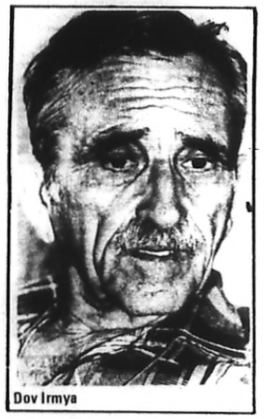
Doing Service—For War Victims

by Awad Abdel Fattah

Dov Irmya is a former Israeli colonel who was kicked out by the general staff from his post as officer in charge of the military aid unit in Lebanon because of his opposition to the war. His open criticism of the Israeli establishment for leaving Palestinian refugees, made homeless by the Israeli assault, without basic necessities of life, led to his firing. Dov is now active in an independent Arab-Jewish committee formed to send material aid from the villages of the Galilee and the Triangle to the destitute Palestinian refugees in the south of Lebanon.

Being in direct contact with the refugees since the first day of the invasion, and a supporter of an independent Palestinian state even before the war, Dov has been a vital source of critical information on the Israeli armed forces' treatment of civilians in Lebanon, especially Palestinians.

Dov was born in Palestine in 1914, and joined the Zionist organisations which operated here in his youth. He served in the armed forces after the establishment of the state of Israel, rising to the rank of colonel before he retired in 1958. But he continued to serve with the reserves as a volunteer. From the first days of the invasion he volunteered to work in the aid unit until his forced resignation in August 1982.



Dov Irmya

Q:How do you see the conditions of the Palestinian refugees in South Lebanon where you are active now, and what changes have occurred since the start of the invasion?

A:I would like to start from the beginning of my experience with the Israeli forces, and tell how they not only did not care for the Palestinians, but how they obstructed me during the execution of my duty with regard to aid.

In the first few days of the invasion there was almost complete destruction of the southern Palestinian refugee camps such as Rashidiya and Ain al-Hilweh, and parts of the cities of Sidon and Tyre. Massive bombardment was still going on, and the flames of fire were everywhere. Many dead people were under the ruins, as well as wounded. All services were out. People were in panic, especially women who were hysterical, fearing the fate of their husbands and sons, who were taken by the Israelis. All Palestinians were disarmed by the Israelis.

In such a terrible situation, there was nobody to help the Palestinians, especially because UNRWA teams were dispersed. Schools, medical clinics and the water network were devastated. I believe that the Israeli army, as an occupying army should supply all services to the homeless refugees. But aid was extended only to the Lebanese residents. The only help given to Palestinian refugees was limited medical treatment to those who were seriously wounded. And it should be pointed out that many wounded Palestinians were afraid of approaching the Israeli medical units and remained untreated for more than a month.

Q: So what aid did the unit which you were in charge of give?

A: The only thing we could do was rebuild the water system in Sidon, and only as far as the streets, not the houses. Some roads were cleared of rubble. This water network served the Lebanese and the Palestinians who lived there. But the rebuilding of the system was destined to serve only the Lebanese. The Israeli government claimed that it was UNRWA's job to help the Palestinians, something which I completely rejected. And even that is funny: How could UNRWA operate in such a situation?

Q: Could you tell us about the behaviour of the Israeli army towards the Palestinian refugees?

A: As I said before, the Israelis did not want to help the Palestinians. They did not take me or my demands for helping the refugees seriously. The officers' behaviour was based on racism and chauvinism. They were contemptuous of me because I was urging help.

On June 10, I applied for food for the detainees and the whole population, as well as water from Israeli army tanks. Their answer was, "They have enough food in their houses. It is the habit of Arabs to store food and there is no need to worry about them so much." I told them the houses were destroyed and even if there were stores in these houses, there was no access to them. I also told them that seeing as how we were holding the residents in detention for the second time, it was our duty to care for them. Their answer was, "You are running around all day in the streets of the city, although we ordered you not to. You are endangering yourself."

. . . . . .

It was clear that it was not my life which they cared about, but they just did not want me to help the Arabs.

. . . . . .

I was kicked out of my job after I published my diaries, in which I strongly criticised the inhuman and brutal treatment of the war victims by the Israeli forces. Of course they did not like me, and they had my dismissal in mind before.

But I decided to continue to help the refugees, and so sponsored the setting up of an Arab-Jewish committee. The Israelis, however, barred me from entering Lebanon after my dismissal.

We received the evening newspapers *Maariv* and *Yediot Aharanot* — both supporters of official Israeli policy — while the morning newspapers (which ran critical articles during the war) were banned.

Q: How long did this situation last, I mean the living conditions of the Palestinian refugees, and the deliberate negligence of the Israelis?

A: Until the beginning of winter. Thousands of Palestinian refugees were living in fruit orchards, deserted houses, garages. Ain al-Hilweh camp, which had been inhabited by about 45,000 Palestinian refugees of whom a large part fled to the neighbouring villages, turned to a big swamp. The horrible conditions of the camp's population became a focus of the world news media. . . . . Israel . . . . . facilitate access to, and even encourage , aid from the American organisation — the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee — and Israeli public groups including our committee which has been the most active, although its capacities are very limited. This joint committee sent 1500 tons of cement. We have not stopped collecting donations and clothes. We also raised about US$50,000 from the Arab villages in the Galilee and Triangle and bought 10 prefabricated classrooms for the camp of Ain al-Hilweh. Donations were also raised from Israelis, especially from kibbutzim.

Q: Can you describe what is currently going on in Ain al-Hilweh?

A: A rapidly increasing movement of housing construction has been ongoing since the winter. Hundreds of small apartments have been erected, but without basic services. This reflects the stubborn insistence of the Palestinian refugees to stay where they are and not become refugees again and again. It is worth mentioning that they had defeated the attempt to settle them in tents, during the winter. They set fire to them, because for them tents symbolise instability.

Also, it should be indicated that all promises made by minister Meridor to help the refugees with 50 prefab houses proved false. The Israeli government provided nothing.

In connection with the general atmosphere prevailing in Ain al-Hilweh, people there are always frightened and worried for their lives and futures. Phalangist elements have spread a state of terror and intimidation over the refugees. The thought of a massacre similar to that of Sabra and Shatila does not leave their minds. The frequent killing of Palestinians from the camp by unknown people is a contributing factor to this atmosphere.

. . . . . .

Q: In your diary you state that you were against the war, but at the same time you describe that you were daily accompanied by Israeli armed forces who were shelling the camps indiscriminately. What kind of contradiction or conflict did you have then, or was it all you could do?

A: Of course I felt an intense conflict about what to do when the invasion started, whether to stay in the country and only take part in the anti-war campaign or volunteer to help the civilians who would be affected by the war. In fact, the second possibility materialised despite the obstacles placed before me by the Israeli officers and leaders. I found out that it was necessary for me to be there with those who were affected.

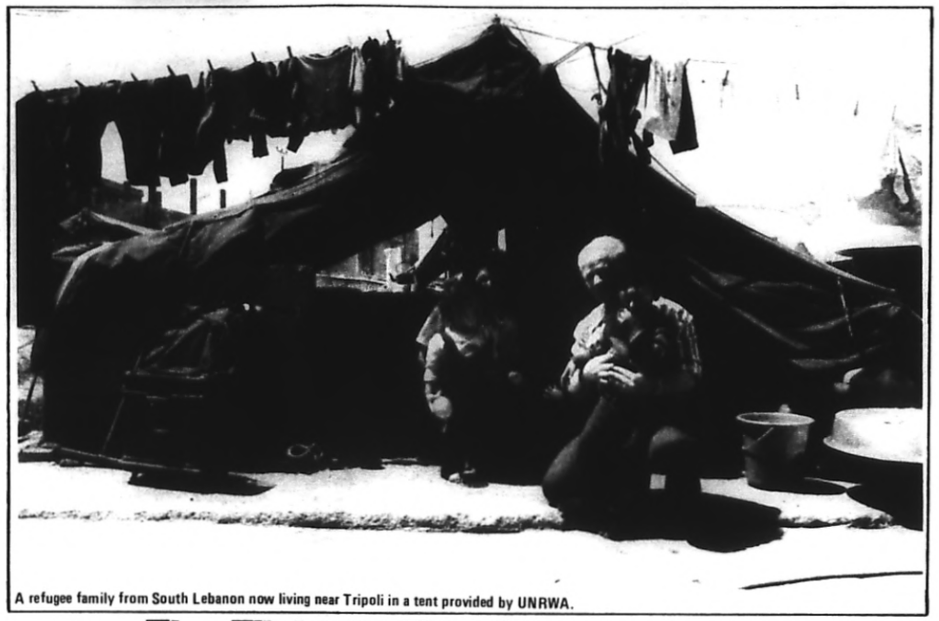
At the same time I had taken part, and am still taking part, in the anti-war campaign, criticising the invasion openly. I delivered several lectures about the invasion and its destructive consequences both on the Palestinians and Lebanese, and on Israeli society.

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

PALESTINIANS IN LEBANON

A History of Displacement



A refugee family from South Lebanon now living near Tripoli in a tent provided by UNRWA.

The Flight to Tripoli

UNRWA Release

Rows of tents marked "UNRWA". Between them barefoot children play, women wash dishes or clothes. Men, young and old, sit sipping their coffee.

At one end of the compound young girls carrying containers on their heads wait their turn at a water point. From a communal bakery comes the smell of fresh bread. The piles of round, flat loaves are carried back to the tents for the midday meal consisting of basic foodstuffs distributed by UNRWA.

The scene is from a camp for Palestine refugees, not in the early '50s but today in Tripoli, Lebanon. And the people living there are Palestinians who first fled from their homes in 1948, and their children and grandchildren born over the intervening years.

Now they are displaced refugees. They fled from their homes in South Lebanon as the Israelis invaded during the summer of 1982.

The refugees who remained in the south vehemently objected to the suggestion of settling in tents after they lost their homes. The tent was a symbol of lost hopes, of having been moved back to square one. This was how they had begun their first years of exile and the thought of going back to tents after 35 years was impossible to accept.

In the south the protests were effective and with UNRWA's help they were able to repair or rebuild their homes.

No Choice

For the displaced refugees in Tripoli, however, there was no choice. Both camps in the area, Beddawi (with 8733 inhabitants) on March 31 this year and Nahr al-Bared (with a population of 16,195) were already overcrowded.

Although many people shared their cramped quarters with friends and relatives, there was not enough space for everyone. As the number of displaced began to grow at an alarming rate, tents were offered and accepted even if they reminded everyone of the harsh beginnings of the Palestinian diaspora.

At the end of May, there were 568 families, 2669 displaced people, in the Tripoli area. Eleven of the families have been housed in an abandoned school in Nahr al-Bared while 62 families are living in 74 tents — four in Nahr al-Bared and the remaining 70 in Beddawi.

One of the tents belongs to the Ayoub family. Both Mohammad and Fatma Ayoub were born in Nabatiya camp in South Lebanon where their parents settled after fleeing from Palestine in 1948. After Mohammad finished his education at an UNRWA school, he became a construction worker. He married Fatma six years ago and built a house in the Tyre area for the family he anticipated.

In 1980 this house was destroyed by shelling and he moved his wife and two sons to Sidon, where they lived in an old army hut. Two years later the Israelis invaded and the family, now with a third son, fled to the Beqa'a valley where they stayed in a half-finished building for a few months until the bitter cold winter drove them on to the milder coastal climate of Tripoli.

Their neighbours are the Abed family. Mohammad and Salwa Abed, also originally from Nabatiya, fled north from the Tyre area after their house was destroyed in 1980. Like the Ayoubs, they went to Sidon and lived in a garage until the Israeli invasion forced them to flee again, this time towards the Beqa'a valley. "We found a driver who promised to take us to the Beqa'a," Mohammad recalls, "but as we reached the mountains he changed his mind, telling us the money we paid him was not enough to pay for the petrol. So he left us there in the middle of the night."

The Abeds reached the Beqa'a on foot, a very harsh journey. Salwa was seven months pregnant and the four young children had no shoes.

"We didn't dare use the roads," he says. "We walked through the mountains and the children were in terrible pain." They walked from 5:00 am to 4:00 pm to reach the area of Chtaura. They settled in a building under construction until the cold winter forced them to leave for Tripoli.

The Ayoubs and the Abeds do not complain about their tents even though, as they admit, it gives them a feeling that history is repeating itself. But, they both say, it is better than nothing. And, they add, for a tent it is not uncomfortable.

Along with the tents, UNRWA also gave them a primus stove, a heating stove, a fire extinguisher, two mats, three mattresses, a blanket for each person, kitchen utensils and concrete blocks to build a wall around the tent.

In another makeshift dwelling next door is a mother with her four children from Shatila. They fled after the massacre in September 1982. She is in Tripoli looking for her husband. He was arrested during the summer but is said to have been released. Word has it that he is here. But so far her search has been futile and her hopes of finding him are beginning to falter. She weeps quietly into her hands. "God will help me find him. He must be alive. He must be alive."

Hundreds Homeless

No family here complains; they know that compared with other displaced families in the area they are quite lucky. There are still 230 families who lack any sort of decent shelter and since the cost of renting a place far surpasses their financial capacities, they are homeless.

Thirty of these families have recently arrived from the Beqa'a where they had endured the long winter rather than move on to Tripoli, which at the time was plagued by constant clashes between rival factions. Although Tripoli is still troubled, they are more afraid that new battles could breakout between Israelis and Syrians in the Beqa'a. More families are expected to follow.

It is not that there is a shortage of tents. According to an UNRWA official, there are more than enough to go around. The problem is finding somewhere to erect the tents, as every inch of space in the camps has been used.

No permission has yet been given by the Lebanese authorities to erect more tents.

While they wait, families crowd together with relatives and friends and those less fortunate, having neither relatives nor friends in Tripoli, spend the nights in cars or squat in areas outside the camp.

No Home, No Family

One of these is an old, blind woman who lost her husband and oldest son in the attack on Tel al-Za'atar camp, the Palestinian area of east Beirut which fell during the Lebanese civil war in 1976. She then had to move south of Beirut. Her two remaining sons were killed during the 1982 Israeli invasion. After their deaths she spent her last money on a taxi to the Beqa'a and from there another refugee family helped her on to Tripoli. Now she has four possessions: an old, broken bed, a blanket, a wallet in which she keeps her UNRWA registration card (the proof of her legal status as a refugee from 1948), and, on a chain around her neck, an amulet in which she carries the pictures of her dead sons.

Standing outside her makeshift shelter, she holds the amulet between her hands, turns her blind eyes towards the sky and wails.

"I lost my home in Palestine, my home in Tel al-Za'atar and every home after that. I have no husband, no sons, no one. Only God is left."

Across from her sits a man, silent and motionless. In his arms he holds his young daughter who is paralysed and apparently brain-damaged by what he calls "a fever" she caught when she was two. They have lived in their car for days. "My daughter is very sick," he says. "I pray every day we will get a tent."

UNRWA does what it can to assist these people. They are given, like the rest of the refugees affected by the Israeli invasion, emergency food rations on which they can subsist adequately and, in special hardship cases, where no man is present to support the family, extra rations and clothing.

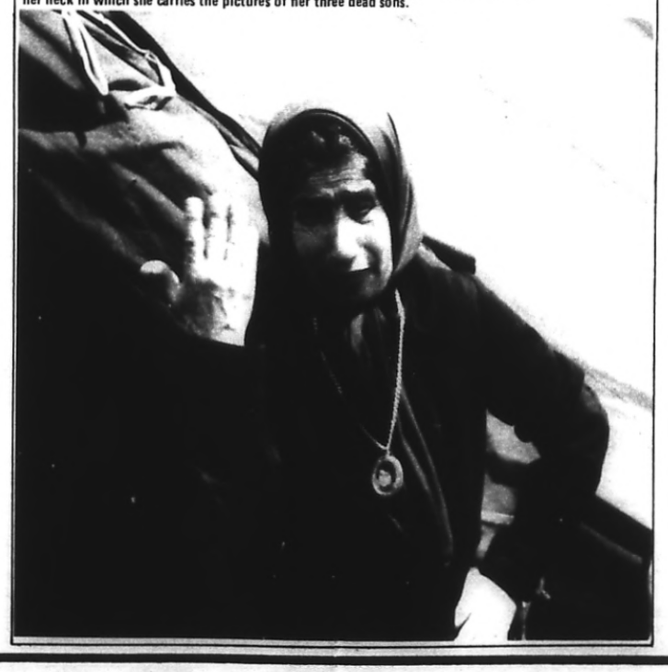
But as opposed to the situation in the south, where many men fled, were killed or are detained by the Israeli authorities, most of these families still have a potential breadwinner and UNRWA has made a point of employing some of them.

Because of the sudden increase in the refugee population here, an UNRWA official says, "We need additional staff to run our services."

"We need drivers, sanitation workers, people to help out in feeding stations where each child between three and 15 years is given a daily meal. We need people to clean our schools. We need people for many things and by employing these people we give them a chance to help themselves."

But a moment later, as he looks over the space where the man sits with his daughter, he shakes his head. "But it is not enough. These people don't even have a roof over their heads. After 35 years they don't even have that."

Blind, old, alone and homeless, she has lost every home she ever had and now lives in a tent near Tripoli, Lebanon. One of her few possessions is an amulet on a chain around her neck in which she carries the pictures of her three dead sons.



BOOKS BANNED IN THE WEST BANK

Al Fajr continues the list of books banned in the West Bank by the Israeli military authorities as published for the first time in cumulative form by the Israeli Defence Forces, September 20, 1982, under the title *Decrees, Orders and Stipulations: Order Regarding Hostile Propadanda.* The order is dated January 18, 1977 and is issued by Yehoshua Bar David, censor, who writes in the introduction: "Based on the authority granted to me in accordance with Article No 88 (A) from Defence Regulations (State of Emergency) 1945 and Article 8 regarding the prohibition of works of hostile propaganda (Judea and Samaria) No 101 for the year 1967 and as I believe that the order is necessary for purposes of security and public order, I hereby issue the following order... It is prohibited to import or print or distribute the publications listed below this order. All orders regarding publications which were issued before the date of this order are repealed. The effective date of this order is January 26, 1976."

Below, the emblems of Cairo and Beirut publishing houses. Both cities remain prominent publishing centres in the Arab world. Books published in these cities and other Arab capitals are banned by the Israeli authorities in the West Bank.

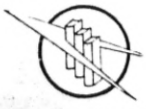
Dar al-Maarif, Cairo

Al-Ahram, Cairo

Dar Nahda Misr, Cairo

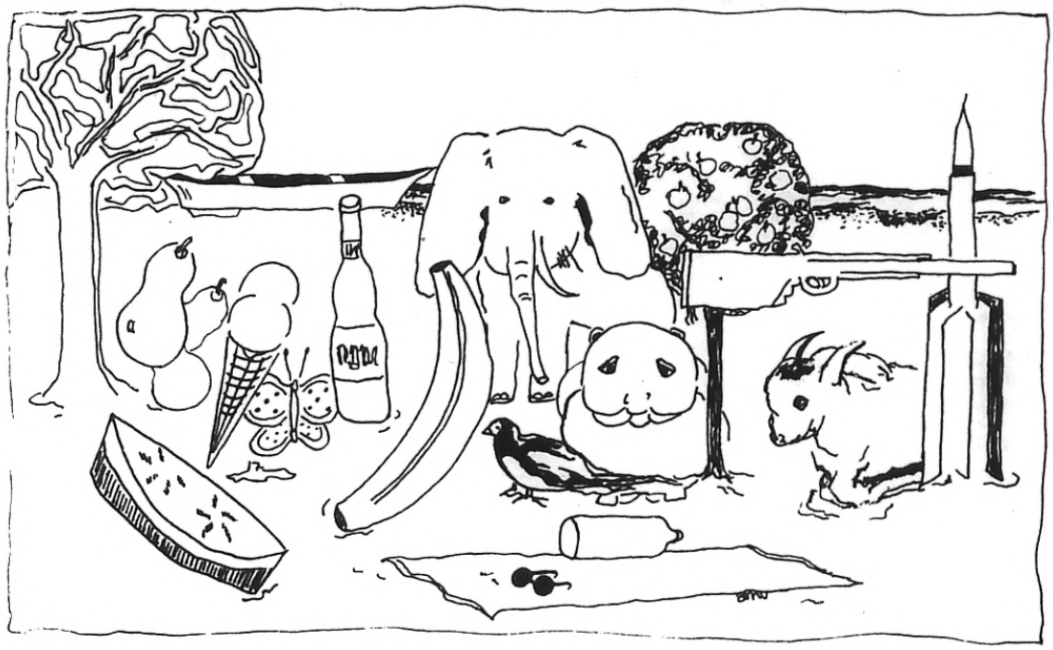
Dar al-Ilm Lilmalayin, Beirut

Dar al-Nafa'es, Beirut



Al Nadi al-Thaqafi al-Arabi, Beirut

Title	Author	Place of Publication Publisher
The Inevitability of War and Illusions of Peace	Fuad Tahboub	Beirut The Arab Organisation for Studies and Publications
Qadisiet Saddam	Kuwaiti Journalists	Kuwait Dar al-Risala
The Flood and the New Creation	Murid Barghoutli	Beirut Dar al-Awdeh
Judaism, Zionism and Israel	Abd al-Wahab Masiri	Beirut The Arab Organisation for Studies and Publications
Who Rules in Tel Aviv?	Hamid Rabi'	Beirut The Arab Organisation for Studies and Publications
Europe and the Destiny of the Arab East	Joseph Hajjar	Beirut The Arab Organisation for Studies and Publications
The Mossad	Dennis Eisenberg	Beirut The Arab Organisation for Studies and Publications
Palestine in the British Mandate	Falah Khaled Alami	Beirut The Arab Organisation for Studies and Publications
Seven Heads of Wheat in April	Mohammad Jamil Shalas	Beirut The Arab Organisation for Studies and Publications
The Days of Love and Death	Rashad Abu Shawar	Beirut Dar al-Awdeh
The Reflection of the June Defeat on the Arab Play	Shukri Aziz Madi	Beirut The Arab Organisation for Studies and Publications
Nizar Kabani -- The Poet of the Case and Commitment	Eliya Halumi	Beirut Dar al-Kateb al Lubnani
The Modern History of Palestine	Abd al-Wahab Kayyali	Beirut The Arab Organisation for Studies and Publications
The Crisis of Zionist Ideology	Mohammad Rabi'	Beirut The Arab Organisation for Studies and Publications
On the Way to Arab Unity	Muin Bashshur	Beirut The Arab Organisation for Studies and Publications
	Badawi al-Jabal	Beirut Dar al-Awdeh
The Great Defeat	Ahmad Shuqeiri	Beirut Dar al-Awdeh
Islam and the Arab National Movements	Shawki Abu Khalil	Damascus Dar al-Fikr
This Agreement	Ismat Seif al-Dawla	Beirut Dar al-Masira
Weddings of the Red Indians	Ali Kanaan	Beirut Dar al-Masira
The Establishment and Formation of the Israeli Army	Yigal Alon	Beirut Dar al-Awdeh
The Dark Side of the Apple, the Shining Side of the Heart	Samih al-Qassim	Beirut Dar al-Awdeh
I Love You As Death Is Desired	Samih al-Qassim	Beirut Dar al-Farabi
Zionism and Class Struggle	Sadeq Jalal al-Adhem	Beirut Dar al-Awdeh
The Palestinian Cinema	Qasem Hawl	Beirut Dar al-Awdeh
Diaries of Yemenite Literature and Art	Abd al-Aziz al-Muqaleh	Beirut Dar al-Awdeh
Palestine -- Crime and Defence	Arnold Toynbee	Beirut Dar al-Ilm Lilmilayin
A Bridge on the Sad River	Mohammad Ali Taha	Beirut Dar Ibn Rushd
Dimension of the Arab-Israeli Confrontation	Ahmad al-Din	Beirut Arab Institute
Research in the Causes of the Civil War in Lebanon	Mahdi Amel	Beirut Dar al-Faraby
The Play in Palestinian Literature	Ahmad Abu Misr	Beirut Arab Institute
The Colt of the Deserts	Rashad Abu Shawar	Beirut Dar al-Awdeh
The Easy Composition	Ali Rida	Beirut Dar al-Sharq
Alone With the Days	Fadwa Tuqan	Beirut Dar al-Awdeh
Ghada Sam'an Has No Wings	Ghali Shukri	Beirut Dar al-Talia
The Streets	Afnan al-Qasem	Beirut Dar Ibn Rushd
A Green House and a Red Ceiling	Rashad Abu Shawwar	Beirut Dar Ibn Rushd
Come, Let Us Know This Despair	Nazih Abu Afash	Beirut Dar Ibn Rushd
The Awakening of the Arab Nation	Najib Azouri	Beirut Arab Institute
The Way to the Sea	Farouk Wadi	Beirut Dar Ibn Rushd
Inscriptions on the Walls of the Dungeon	Walid Rabah	Beirut Dar al-Awdeh
The Complete Works of Salah Abd al-Sabour		Beirut Dar al-Wadeh
The National Unity Experience in the Gaza Strip	Abd al-Qadi Yassin	Beirut Dar Ibn Khaldoun
Trees Don't Grow on Copy Books	Rashad Abu Shawwar	Beirut Dar al-Awdeh
How Shall I Meet You?	Najib Kilani	Beirut al-Risala Institute
The Other Face	Salwa Banna	Beirut Arab Institute
The Soviet Union and Camp David	Rashid Khalidi	Beirut The Institute of Palestine Studies
Seven Lilies on the Grave of Gamal Abd al-Nasser	Hussein Hadid	Beirut Dar al-Awdeh
Quiet Words in a Fiery Atmosphere	Nasif Awwad	Baghdad Ministry of Education and Information
Text of the Complete National Speech of the Hero of Liberation	Saddam Hussein	Beirut Iraqi Embassy
Ideas and Positions	Saddam Hussein	Beirut Iraqi Embassy
The National Cause Between the Hard Line and Deception	Hussein Mahmoud Tawalbah	Baghdad Ministry of Education and Information
Palestine's Poet -- Ibrahim Toqan	Zaki Muhami	Misr Dar al-Fikr al-Arabi
Arab Cases in Contemporary Algerian Poetry	Abdullah Rukaiby	Arab League University
Lectures in the Modern Poetry of Palestine and Jordan	Nasr al-Din al-Asad	Arab League University
Return to Haifa	Ghassan Kanafani	Beirut Dar al-Awdeh
Modern History of Palestine	Abd al-Wahab Kayyali	Beirut Arab Institute
New Colonisation and Africa in the Seventies	I.A.Tanaprin	Moscow Dar al-Taqadom
Zionism -- Realities and Diversities	Munir Mathkour	Moscow Dar al-Taqadom
Friends and Enemies of the Arabs	Rafik Orotionov	Moscow Dar al-Taqadom



THE SUN AND THE SEA

by Afnan al-Qasim

When I went to Palma I had specific aims in mind. I wanted some rest, to think of nothing, to enjoy the sun and the sea, and look at the women. Therefore, I left Paris where I stayed for many years. I left the city of snow and fog, the city of light and hard work, of cold and creative writing and thought. My wife and daughter accompanied me for a few days, but I was finally left alone. I wanted to be alone; I wanted to feel my "birth" again.

I used to get up early, leave my hotel and wander down Amal Street that leads to the sea. The sea looked like a stagnant lake, a tamed horse, a blue mirror. The street was almost empty, and the straw umbrellas spread everywhere. A woman took off her clothes, a man slept on the sand, and a girl was drawing a boat. The sea extended as if it were the beginning and the end. I thought of nothing while looking at the sea but then I went searching for the waves that got me, I wanted to enjoy a moment of congress between my body and the waves. The movement passed quickly. Once on the sand, I gave my face and body for the sun, felt the narcotic injection and dreamt. Who could stop my dreams since I was so near to the sea?

The sea, full of bodies and waves, called for me, and I went to deduce meanings and hunt for colours and odours. But I felt that the sea defied me; it offered me itself, but possession was impossible. I felt that the sea never belonged to me. It left me on the surface looking at the newcomers who always came to it though it always went into the distant horizons. I gazed at the newcomers; breasts gazed at me; lips and eyes defied my approaches; beautiful legs rose from the waves. I saw bodies that cried and others that laughed and others that played basketball. The sea became a brute horse that trembled at the slighted musical. The more violent the sea got, the greater, the wider and the braver it became. Sea! Take the wind and let me be with you! But the wind took me, and I sank in the sand leaving everything behind me. At the hotel I ate the Paella, a Spanish dish, and looked at Carmen: "Did you like the Paella?" she asked. "I did."

Carmen, the dark girl, would smile and, as usual, I'd have some sweets or an ice cream and then wander through the narrow streets of Palma that lead to the sea. There I'd see people of all kinds. The sea cries, but the people resist the waves; the wind roars, but the people insist to endure and stay on the sand. Bodies leap, people laugh and giggle. The bodies meet suddenly to form a unified mass and sometimes the mass falls apart. I'd follow the separation of bodies, evaluate the movement, the weight, and then share the sea in a long process of classification.

There were flabby bodies, strong bodies, old bodies, young bodies, short bodies and gigantic bodies. Some bodies make one disgusted, others motivate no feeling, while others arouse desire. Bodies looked like pears, sweets, ice cream, Coca-Cola, boats, bananas, guns, bombs, sheep, horses, butterflies, bulls, nut trees, elms, elephants, deer, hippopotamuses, pigeons. Bodies came and others left. Bodies rose up, others slept, others were hurled into the sea. Some people read, others moaned or sighed and others suppressed their sighs. Some people smiled, others didn't. Some people ate, called for company, rebuked, contemplated or calculated the money left. Perhaps they wished, and wishes increase near the sea; wishes cry and fall like a heavy rain. Perhaps people thought of dark young men or women — of women who know well how to make love; of masses of men or women; of comfortable houses and new cars. Some thought of the 11 months of work, the salary, the expected pay increase. Some thought of old relations, distant relations, impossible relations, possible relations.

During supper, Carmen asked, "Did you like the soup?"

"No," I said.

She smiled, but I added quickly. "It was hot." She agreed.

The hotel restaurant was crowded. It was so hot inside that I didn't care for desert. I preferred to leave early and wander through the narrow streets of Palma that had plenty of hotels, restaurants and bars. I listened to a number of German songs; it seemed as though the Germans had occupied the island. On both sides, stores sold coloured sea-things or summer fruits. Goods spread all along the pavements which were full of sandy footsteps. One could smell the celebration of the driving night from the body of the sea. Against the waves, three or four people swam naked — so I imagined because the light waves were not as strong as the waves themselves. The waves roared as stongly as my heart. I followed the sea that threw its foam inside Palma's immense thighs. I could hear the foam being smashed, and I could hear the cries of desire. I saw some boats that rose with the sea waves, but then the boats vanished. The sea was there; it was everything. I stood alone looking at the sea. I was scared and decided to go back to my hotel.

I passed some disco bars. I thought of inviting Carmen one evening to one of these bars. I hesitated when I asked her to hand me the key. She smiled.

I went to bed, but Palma never slept. I heard her screams and movements while in bed. The sea never slept. I heard its ceaseless roar. Everything depends on continuation, on the ceaseless movement of the sea, on the continuous progression and regression. Everything depends on the sea's movement.

Suddenly, I heard Carmen cry and curse. She spoke Spanish. There was the voice of a man trying to question her. I could understand only one word that was repeated: 'democracy,' 'democracy,' 'democracy!' And then, there was a real quarrel. I heard Carmen crying.

In the morning, Carmen did not serve me the coffee as usual. I left instantly for the sea. I washed my body but could never wash out my sadness. I never saw Carmen agian.

When I went back to Palma in winter, the sea was there, but Palma was dead. Everything there was motionless except for the sea that filled the shore with its angry waves. The hotel was closed. At the gate a notice read: "To Open Next Summer." The stores that spread along the narrow streets were also closed. No coloured sea-things, no fresh fruit, and no sandy footsteps. Not a single song came from the bars.

I remember that I only saw a lieutenant coming from the direction of the sea. Everything was dying. Layers of oil, dirt, dead plants and murdered wings covered the sea. The boats were either chained or destroyed. The mountain that was green in summer was girdled with fog. It sank gradually.

(Translated by Izzat Ghazzawi, Al Fajr al-Adabi, No. 27)

This Editorial was banned from last week's issue.

Menachem Begin, Israel's premier, Ariel Sharon, minister without portfolio and Raphael Eitan former chief of staff one year ago, were counting in hours and days how long it would be before the aims of the war would be achieved Peace for Galilee meant the destruction of the 'infrastructure of the Palestine Liberation Organisation the main obstacle impeding he annexation of the occupied territories

The war was launched four years after the signing of the plot to liquidate the Palestinian question and people at the US Presidential retreat of Camp David. After the carrot seduction failed and the notorious accords gasped a last breath, Israel played its final card presumptuously thinking that it would pull off on the ground what its masters could not on paper

We know that the US administration, under the famous White House cowboy, fully backed the war and even coordinated with Israel to make it succeed.

And the puppet regimes of the Middle East accurately performed their roles as "the three wise monkeys.' But Israel misunderstood the basics, for the infrastructure of the PLO is the Palestinian people armed with the strongest will to live and progress.

After one year of continued invasion. Israeli public and officials are revealing greater hindsight. Labour s Yitzhak Rabin said that the invasion did not achieve any political gains neither did it achieve peace. His rival Shimon Peres announced that the war should have stopped in the first days because it has become very expensive for Israel especially in human lives Amnon Rubinstein from the Shinui party requested the Knesset establish a commission to investigate the war and the government's responsibility. Last, but not least Israeli Major General Avigdor Ben Gal discovered that Israel cannot defeat the PLO militarily.

And we add, Israel, the USA and all their allies will never be able to defeat the PLO and the Palestinian neither militarily nor politically. When will they understand?

Last year, at the start of the war, we wrote:

"When the fighting dies. . . there will be no defeat for the Palestinian people. The world and the Israelis should realise that the only solution of the Palestinain conflict is recognition of Palestinian right to self-determination. The Israeli war machine can overrun territories, but cannot extinguish Palestinian nationhood.'

This still holds today

The continuing difficulties within the PLO's main faction, Fatah, was the major concern of all the local papers. All three local dailies carried news agencies' reports as well as official Fatah statements. Al Mithaq biweekly, in addition, ran a long interview June 21 with opposition leader Colonel Abu Mussa reprinted from Al-Shira' Lebanese weekly.

Also of concern in the local Palestinian newspapers were the apparent Israeli intentions to redeploy its forces in Lebanon after the almost daily killings of Israeli soldiers. June 20 papers reported the arrest by Lebanese authorities of Sabri Jiryis and the closing of the Palestinian Research Centre which he heads in Beirut. Papers also ran an offical PLO denunciation of the Lebanese government's actions.

Running Away

European nations seem reluctant to touch the Palestine problem, not even with a ten-foot pole. Has this cause now become a plague to frighten the freakish? Is it such a heavy burden that no one wants to share it, including the "sister" Arab states?

What is the real cause for the Palestine problem becoming a proverbial pariah?

Before the invasion of Lebanon, Europe used to sing a different tune: there were no pretexts then and no squeamishness about hosting an international conference to tackle the problem.

Then came the Israeli blitz, and the tables were turned overnight. Europe apologises: we cannot hold such a conference for security reasons. But that is not the primary consideration in their refusal. Whatever it is, it betrays lack of principle, and fear of the US.

AL QUDS

June 17

"Peace Accord" Delusion

Lebanese Foreign Minister Eli Salem deludes himself into believing that the so-called "peace accord" his country has signed with Israel will be extremely beneficial to the people of Lebanon.

The accord will, presumably, guarantee Lebanon's independence and integrity, as if these were of utmost importance to Israel, which was the driving force behind the signing of the agreement.

President Amin Gemayel did, of course, approve of the accord. Burdened with debts as he was, he could not very well refuse to deliver, because if he did, then his creditors would take the necessary legal steps against him.

Never mind what the Lebanese people itself think of the accord. Salem couldn't care less whether his countrymen approved or not. His country was in debt — and beggers cannot be choosers. Lebanon therefore had to approve the deal.

Strangely enough, when Salem was asked to name the countries that backed the accord, he could mention only those who opposed it. What about those that abstained, or refrained from voicing an opinion? Does Salem construe their silence as tacit approval? Perhaps so — until such time as they chose to publicly announce their opposition, and thus clarify their stand.

AL FAJR

June 18

The Hounds of War

The recent confrontation between Israeli forces on one side and the Syrian and Palestinian forces on the other, has lost its criticial edge, but this must not lull us into sleep. The threat of an outbreak of hostilities is still very real, and the hounds of war are still chafing at their chains.

The planned redeployment of Israeli troops in Lebanon will not save it from the depredations of a war of attrition, or rescue it from the escalating wave of anti-war protests at home.

Israel and the US may therefore be expected to opt for the easiest way out — the renewed use of force to unravel the impasse, oblivious of the fact that this will only further complicate matters.

The Arab world must be made aware of these implications, and it is time Arab nations made a move to prove to the world that they can defend their rights.

AL SHA'AB

June 19

An Ongoing Dialogue

Despite reports of friction and clashes among Palestinian fighters in Lebanon, PLO leaders continue to keep the line of communication open between them and the "mutineers."

The Beqa'a incident has spawned an endless round of meetings and conferences whose sole purpose is to solve the impasse and prevent a dissipation of the fighting power of the Palestinian revolution.

Leaders of the rebel movement have been attending these meetings, and it is hoped that the conciliatory attitude and spirit of understanding displayed by the PLO leadership will bring the message home to them: Palestinians must stand united, and the only way to resolve internal differences is by means of an open dialogue.

This is the only way Palestinians can get their views across, for there are many people who fish in troubled waters, and they must not be allowed to wreck our unity.

The recent events in Tripoli come as a timely eye-opener to those who continue to slumber. The dangers besetting the Palestinian movement are many, and we must always be on our guard.

AL FAJR

June 20

Gemayel's Vendetta

The true nature of the feeling Amin Gemayel's government harbours for Palestinians has emerged into the open, in a painfully convincing manner: the ruling Lebanese authorities have a deep-seated hatred for everything Palestinian.

Witness the Lebanese government's decision to close down the Palestinian Research Centre in Beirut, and its attempt to white-wash the Lebanese role in the Sabra and Shatila massacre.

It has been no secret that the Gemayel regime is not exactly overly fond of the Palestinians in its midst; it has not refrained from displaying the darker side of its nature by engaging in systematic persecution of Palestinians' and impressing upon them the need to leave.

Gemayel is acting true to form, in perpetuation of the history of the Gemayel clan, and of the party to which they belong. Nor can we exonerate those who share the seat of power with him.

The "fascists" in Lebanon are encouraged by the stand adopted by Arab regimes who either gloat in the depredations of the Palestinian people, or stand idly by watching their travails.

AL SHA'AB

June 21

International Peace Conference

We salute the International Peace Conference which opened in Czechoslovakia yesterday.

It is being held at an opportune moment: at a time when imperialism and its lackeys are trying to turn the wheel of history backwards, back to the days of the Cold War, and the mad arms race.

Of course, the United States remains the main culprit in all the historic turmoils assailing this world.

Anwar Sadat's treachery provided Uncle Sam with a golden opportunity to consolidate its position in the Middle East — at the expense of the Arabs.

We are looking forward to this conference to rally all the people of the world against the dark forces of imperialism whose ugly face can no longer be disguised.

Imperialism will not have its way - the socialist world will see to that.

AL ITTIHAD

June 22

ART INSIDE

PALESTINE CULTURE WEEK

A week of Palestinian art will be held in a Tel Aviv theatre, June 28-July 3. It is the first event of its kind.

The Neve Tsedek theatre has arranged for the showing of two Palestinian plays, a Palestinian movie, an art exhibit by two Palestinian artists, a concert and a symposium which will feature Palestinian artists, writers, poets and journalists.

The Palestinian week will open with the Jerusalem-based Hakawati theatre group presenting *The Thousand and One Nights of a Stone Thrower*, on June 28 and 29. A night of Palestinian music, possibly featuring the returning Palestinian singer Mustafa Kurd, will be featured June 30.

A second play by Hakawati theatre company will be presented, July 1 and 2 Ironically, the play, *From Inside, Oh Ali* is about an Arab worker living and working in Tel Aviv. It will be the premiered at the Israeli theatre.

The week of Palestinian art will culminate, July 3, with a symposuim featuring Palestinian poet and writer Ali Khalili, short story writer Jamal Banaoura and Haifa novelist Emile Habibi. A section of Raja Shehadeh's book *The Third Way* will be read. *Al Fajr* has learned that books banned in the West Bank will be on display at the Tel Aviv theatre. Art exhibits for Sulieman Mansour and Hagop Kaplenian will be featured throughout the week. In addition to his canvases, Mansour will exhibit political cartoons that have been printed in *Al Fajr* Palestinian weekly during the past few years.

Hakawati crew at work on the set.

The organisers of the Neve Tsedek theatre have also arranged for the showing of *Fertile Memoirs*, a movie produced by Palestinian director Michele Khalifeh which has won many awards, including a major prize at the Cannes film festival.

The Neve Tsedek theatre has been a centre of controversy lately after it allowed the showing of the banned Israeli play *The Patriot*. The Palestinian week of art is unique in that it is the first time ever Palestinian artists will be presenting their works under the title of 'Palestinians' and without any restrictions on what they will be allowed to show.

Recently an art exhibit featuring Palestinian and Jewish artists toured Israeli cities under the title "Honouring West Bank Artist," but the artists were not given a free hand in deciding what was presented.

continued from page 6

Self-Entrapment

Almost the same sterility exists, up to now, concerning another periodical approach towards the final solution of the Arab-Israeli conflict: the so-called Jordanian option.

Historically, the Hashemite kingdom of Jordan has absolutely no legitimate status or claim on the western side of the Jordan river. During Israel's war of independence, 1947 to 1949, spontaneously reacting to Palestinian political and military weakness, King Hussein's grandfather, the Emir Abdullah, uninvitedly came to his Palestinian neighbours' rescue, conquering large parts of the West Bank including the old city of Jerusalem, and then stayed on these territories by status of political and military occupation, similar to the Soviet Union in Eastern Europe. Since then, Abdullah's grandson, King Hussein, has not only ruled the West Bank by force as a hostile and sometimes brutal occupation power, but he also took active part in most of the Arab countries' various military operations, including the Six Day War in 1967 and the October War in 1973. Hussein's aspirations to regain control over the West Bank and especially Arab Jerusalem (parts of the old and the eastern new city) have never been abandoned and are supported by certain parts of the Arab population there.

From the practical point of view of solving the Arab-Israeli conflict, King Hussein is not only too near to deliver any substantial goods but also is not authorised to do so by the Arab countries in general and by any Palestinian leadership. In practical and constructive terms, what concrete contribution can be expected by Hussein's re-establishing Jordanian control over the West Bank and parts of Jerusalem, that never belonged to him legally and that would continue to prevent any Palestinian claim to nationhood?

More than a year has already passed since the PLO leadership and most of the PLO fighters were driven out of Beirut by Israel's intense and relentless pressure, costing us a heavy price in innocent Lebanese blood and staining our country's reputation on the international scene. Israel's armed forces certainly achieved an impressive military success by liquidating the PLO-dominated international terror fortress in Beirut and by enabling Lebanon to re-establish her national sovereignty. Israel's strong army paid a heavy price in blood for that achievement and is still deeply bogged down in the Lebanese swamp, suffering almost daily casualties in wounded and killed by acting as police and referee between that country's chronically unbending communities. On top of all these unforseen and unnecessary calamities, the army and the whole country became involved, at least by indirect responsibility in the terrible war crime of Sabra and Shatila. Is this immense price in blood and in our global reputation, that still has not yet fully been collected, justified by any concrete results, except by achieving , at least for the meantime, renewed safety and calm at our northern borders? Have we really destroyed and dissolved any future military threat by the PLO's armed forces and have we thereby finally disposed of Palestinian national aspirations and their support by powerful international factors?

It seems to me that the exact opposite has been done. Even Israel's considerable military success in Lebanon of last year did not finally solve the political conflict between us and the Palestinians and in some important aspects even deepened it.

What else has to happen to us, to the Middle East and to the world at large and its deteriorating relationship with Israel, before we finally turn to the only realistic and effective way to achieve peace in our region? Can there still be any doubt that the only possible road towards that crucial goal is by direct negotiations between Israel and authorised Palestinian representation? Are we really still afraid of not being strong enough to meet our main opponent in a spirit of mutual and constructive compromise between both people's vital national interests?

continued from page 7

Ben Moshe

that a Palestinian political movement with acceptable ideas would be allowed to voice its opinion freely.

Emergency Regulations

As to his reaction to Israeli practises in the occupied territories, vigilantism against Palestinians and the oppressive Emergency Regulations, Ben Moshe declared his 100 percent opposition to all the human rights violations in the occupied territories. "I am against the Emergency Regulations because they distort all the democratic values I believe in." Ben Moshe is staunchly opposed to the collective punishment that takes place against families and neighbours of a stone-thrower. "From a moral standpoint, this kind of punishment is unjust. It also triggers an escalation of violence because of the human revenge reaction." en Moshe said that he correctly prophesised once what would happen after the harvest fields in Arrabeh were damaged by Israeli airplanes.

"I predicted that one of the people who lost a lot as a result of our action would take revenge, killing nearby Jewish residents. Sure enough, three months later three settlers in the settlement of Gitti were killed by a Palestinian farmer from Arrabeh," Ben Moshe recalls.

Although, Ben Moshe feels that Zionism has no practical importance anymore, after it failed to bring Jews to Palestine, most would consider him a diehard Zionist. His attitude, which is starting to be heard more and more lately, brings hope to many Palestinians who, many say, have lost any hope in anyone continuing to hold Zionist attitudes. His support for Palestinian rights is commendable, but most Palestinians would continue to be suspicious until they see more concrete actions in this direction. Ben Moshe believes that peace is a process that cannot be attained by magic. He's working hard for his ideal. It is to be seen in the coming days and months how much support he can muster.

continued from page 16

Cultural War

framework, but it would be open for all national cultural currents.

Besides its own activities, the centre has given financial assistance to the Arab Theatre League the body made up of nine theatre troupes in the Galilee.

They also sponsored a recent regional exhibition of children's paintings and drawings in the village of Shafa 'Amr.

Despite its youth, the centre has also forged international relations in the framework of the International Organisation for the Preservation of Palestinian Cutlure (IOPPC). During last month's meeting of the organisation, in which Samih and other Palestinian figures took part, a decision to prepare a book on Palestinian heritage was taken.

One of the major future projects of the centre is the establishment of a museum for Palestinian heritage in Nazareth, in cooperation with IOPPC. In explanation Samih remarked, "There are many Palestinian archaeological sites which have not been studied and are unknown by the majority of the Palestinian community." Preparatory work will include a survey of archaeological and other cutlural sites through documents, photographs and popular education.

The Film on Jaffa

Despite technical and many other problems, the centre has sponsored a film on the historical Palestinian city of Jaffa. The idea of the film has long preoccupied film director Ali Nassar, from Arrabeh in the Galilee. The film, already in production, describes Jaffa's role as a cultural centre for the Palestinian people and as a centre for political activities during the British Mandate. It follows the social, demographic and political changes after 1948. "I want to reflect the Palestinian cause through the city of Jaffa," said Nassar, who had made two previous films about Palestine during his study in the Soviet Union. His only copy of his second film was impounded by police after a raid on his house, last September. It was never shown locally.

Nassar told *Al Fajr* that the film will concentrate on "the growing deterioration of conditions of Palestinians in Jaffa, who are gradually being forced out by the Israelis through various means."

The film is scheduled to take two months work with a five-person crew. Each crew member is doing several jobs, "because of the shortage of skilled people and of money," Awni Abd al-Hadi, film cameraman, said.

The film crew is very enthusiastic about the experience, although they receive limited monetary compensation like the rest of the PAC, some of whom are volunteers. "The motive behind our work is purely nationalistic," said Ali Nassar, explaining that they have been dreaming for a long time to see an Arab cinema. "Of course not for chauvinistic reasons but because of the reality we are living. The Israeli cinema has rarely dealt with the problems of the Palestinians, and if it did, it was from a point of view different from our own," he said.

Awni Abd al-Hadi has a degree in cinematography, but has not worked on a film since his graduation two years ago. "The door to Israeli institutions is closed in my face," he said. "At the same time there are no committed cinema companies to work for."

Summing up what must be the feelings of many about PAC, al-Hadi said, "I can liken myself to someone who has been hungry for a piece of bread and has finally found it."

WEEKLY REVIEW

June 15, 1983

ANOTHER FARA'A TORTURED STATEMENT

Israeli military authorities started investigating into activities of an Israeli officer at Fara'a detention centre, near Jenin, after a complaint by Adel Hussein Mahmoud, a student at Bir Zeit University, that he was beaten in detention.

Al Hamishmar, the Israeli daily which reported the story, said that "a number" of Bir Zeit students are being held in Fara'a.

BZ DEMO

BIR ZEIT — The student council held a demonstration to protest the closure of the university by the BZU administration.

Students crowded in front of the business and finance buildings heard student body president Nayef Sweitat demand the university open its doors and return to normal classes.

'HOSTILITY' PUNISHED

JENIN — The military court in Jenin fined Ahmad Zaki Arirwh from Arrabeh IS5000 for the possession of "hostile posters and signs."

UNION DROUGHT

JERUSALEM — The headquarters of the Hotel, Restaurant and Cafe Workers Union in Jerusalem has had its water cut by the (West) Jerusalem municipality. No reason was given.

June 16, 1983

RUSSIAN CHURCH

JERUSALEM — The Russian Orthodox nuns in Ain Karem, site of the birthplace of John the Baptist, are being subjected to further harrassment, only weeks after the fatal stabbing of their Mother Superior and another nun.

The nuns complained to police that two men entered the church earlier this week, and proceeded to pester and frighten them.

Elsewhere, unidentified vandals daubed the swastika in the main entrance to the Russian Orthodox church in West Jerusalem, directly in front of the Moscobiyya detention centre, Jerusalem's main police centre.

UNIVERSITY HALF-OPEN

RAMALLAH - The administration of Bir Zeit University agreed to reopen student dormitories and remove out-of-bounds restrictions on the library. Students also demanded, and were given assurances, that the university would not cancel summer courses.

HOTELS

JERUSALEM - The administrative committee of the Union of Arab Hotel and Restaurant employees met to approve plans to introduce a comprehensive health scheme for its members.

It was also decided to appeal to hotel and restaurant owners against any additional firings or paycuts among their staff in view of the difficult economic situation in the country.

HOUSE DESTROYED

NABLUS - Israeli bulldozers demolished the home of a West Bank villager, claiming the three-room house had been built illegally.

The villager, Mohammed Amin Daoud, from Harris, said he had shown the bulldozer driver the license he had been granted in January by the land registration office.

UNION RAID

GAZA - Israeli occupation authorities recently raided the headquarters of a Gaza labour union, and confiscated some of their books, along with pictures and posters hanging on the walls.

BRIEFLY LIBERATED

JERUSALEM - The Palestinian flag was run up the flag pole over the Semiramis Hotel, which Israeli troops took over two years ago as a military barracks. The flag was not discovered until 10:00 am the next day, when Israelis replaced it with the Star of David.

ARTISTS ARRESTED

TULKARM - Sixteen people, including Palestinian poet Abdul Nasser Saleh, were arrested by the Israeli military authorities during a raid on an exhibition of Palestinian art and culture. The authorities charged the group with holding an unlawful assembly; some were released later by the court.

JOURNALIST EXILED

JERUSALEM - A house arrest order against Jerusalem *Al Fajr* journalist Nebhan Khreishi, confining him to his residence in the village of Dhabbaneh, in the Tulkarm district, has been extended for a further six months.

WORKERS POISONED

EILAT - Some 40 Arab workers employed by a private firm in Eilat have gone on strike to protest the substandard food they are being served at the Laguna Hotel here.

The workers allege they suffered food poisoning as a result and had to be hospitalised.

The workers struck because the hotel management had reneged on a pledge to improve conditions.

MOSQUE RENOVATION

JAFFA — Renovation work has formally begun at the historic Hassan Bek Mosque in Jaffa. Groups of Muslim volunteers from the West Bank and Israel proper arrived at the site yesterday.

The mosque was seriously damaged recently when its minaret suddenly collapsed due to unknown causes.

SURVEYORS

JERUSALEM - A group of unidentified surveyors began work on land owned by an Arab tribe near Jerusalem.

The landowners, the Joum'a and Suwwan tribes of the "Arabs of Al-Sawahreh," rushed to the scene and removed all evidence of the surveyors' presence there.

They said they intend to pursue the matter to the highest level.

June 17, 1983

FIRE BRIGADE

NABLUS — Residents and growers in and around Nablus have begun assessing the damage caused by the recent fires in the region, which have devastated large tracts of cultivated land and threatened to engulf several homes.

Some reports attributed the outbreak to the above-normal temperatures and the tinder-dry forests in the region. Others blamed Israeli army maneouvers in which live ammunition had probably been used.

The fires laid waste tens of dunums of cultivated land, damaged electric utilities and wrecked water irrigation pumps.

Residents of the outlying village of Tubas alleged that the fires had been deliberately started.

DETAINED

BETHLEHEM — The Israeli military authorities detained 16-year-old Yousef Hassan, a resident of Dheisheh refugee camp.

The Israelis have also extended for a further week the detention of two other Dheisheh residents, Najib Farraj and Burhan Attallah, arrested two weeks ago.

ONE FOR YOU; 180,000 FOR US

NAZARETH — Northern District Commissioner Israel Koenig has formally notified the head of Deir al-Assad's local council that the Israeli government intends to give back hundreds of dunums of land which it had expropriated from Arab villages in the Galilee.

The land in question, a small part of 180,000 dunums newly included within the jurisdiction of the Jewish local council of Misgav, is to be re-instated shortly.

BOMB ON WORKERS

TEL AVIV - A hand grenade was thrown towards Tal Hotel, on Green Street in Tel Aviv. Israeli radio said four Arab workers were injured. One died later in the hospital. The bomb was thrown near the building's gas pipes.

AGAINST THE ARTS

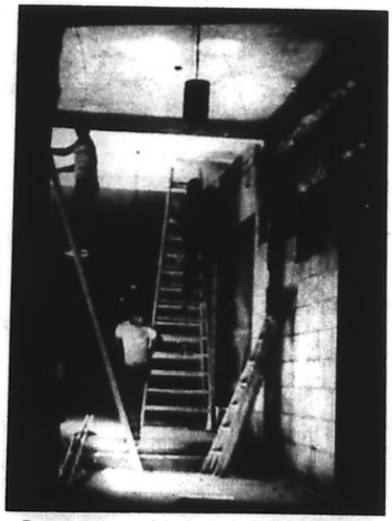
JERUSALEM — The well-known Palestinian theatrical group, *El Hakawati*, has not yet received an answer to its request for permission to stage one of its most ambitious theatricals, *The Thousand and One Nights in the Butcher's Market*. They applied late last year for what was intended to be a summer repertory.

ARSON AT PHILADELPHIA

JERUSALEM — One of the Old City's swankiest restaurants, the Philadelphia, was nearly completely gutted by fire June 17, apparently begun by arsonists.

The restaurant fire began shortly after midnight, and burned for six hours before the fire brigade could bring the blaze under control.

The restaurant is owned by Hashem Izhiman. No estimate of damage has been provided yet.



Reconstruction work begins at the Philadelphia/JN

BZU DENIAL

RAMALLAH — Official Bir Zeit University sources said that a report that the BZU administration closed the school, broadcast by Israel Radio, was not true.

They said final examinations will take place as scheduled, starting Monday, and that "things are proceeding as usual" and "we are back to normal."

The situation on campus is calm, and students have been coming and going to the university without hindrance since last Thursday.

RELEASED STUDENTS

NABLUS — Another 25 students from Najah University have been released by the Israeli military authorities.

Over 40 students were detained, for over two weeks, in the wake of demonstrations marking the twin anniversaries of the Six Day War and the invasion of Lebanon.

June 18, 1983

EXHIBITION IN HEBRON

HEBRON — Hebron University's exhibition of Palestinian art and culture, opened here last week, has been a "tremendous success," organisers said.

The exhibition, which closes today, featured various aspects of Palestinian art, culture and folklore, including the work of Palestinians in Israeli prisons.

However, it had not all been smooth sailing. The organisers, some of whom were detained by the military authorities, had been warned they faced prosecution if they put on display any items that could be construed as 'inciting'.

MOLOTOV COCKTAILS

NABLUS — An Israeli military patrol came under attack in Qal-

qiliya, near Tulkarm, but although their vehicle was extensively damaged, no injuries were reported.

Military sources said three Molotov cocktails were lobbed at the patrol as it traversed the town's new main street. Troops quickly cordoned off the area and arrested a number of residents.

Two of the makeshift bombs exploded harmlessly in the road, but the third hit the back of the jeep.

THIS TIME JENIN

JENIN — The merchants in Jenin are being asked to make hefty down-payments on their tax assessments for the coming year.

The merchants have been issued new instructions, stipulating prepayment of an 'advance' on their income tax bill for 1983-84.

Those 'advances' range in value from IS6000 to IS120,000.

June 19, 1983

RELEASE

NABLUS — Israeli military authorities released two student leaders from Najah University, detained more than two weeks ago.

The two are Adnan Damiri, president of the National Union of University Students at Najah, and Samir Attili, a member of the National Union.

They were among a large group of students arrested by Israeli troops following demonstrations marking the twin anniversaries of the 1967 war and the invasion of Lebanon.

RESTRICTIONS LIFTED TEMPORARILY

NABLUS — The Israeli military authorities lifted the travel restrictions they imposed recently on residents of the Palestinian refugee camp of Balata, near Nablus.

Residents had been prevented for over a month from travelling to Jordan, and several business establishments had been closed down.

Several residents have already seized the opportunity to travel to the East Bank, following the easing of the restrictions.

Shops closed down since the beginning of May have also been reopened.

WATER INFLATES

JERUSALEM — Residents of the outlying village of Abu Dis, on the Jerusalem-Jericho highway, signed a petition protesting the disproportionate amount of water rates they are forced to pay.

Residents claim rates are computed in a haphazard manner, without rhyme or reason.

They are often billed up to six or seven times the rates Jerusalemites pay, they claim.

CAMPUS VISITS

NABLUS — A student delegation from Tel Aviv University's CAMPUS movement paid a visit to Nablus to express their solidarity with students of the city's Najah University.

The movement is organising a petition to be signed by Tel Aviv University lecturers, denouncing the closure and the indiscriminate arrest of Arab students.

WOMEN ARRESTED

TULKARM — The Israeli occupation forces have rounded up 20 Arab women from the town of Qalqiliya, near Nablus. No reasons for the arrests were given, but residents suspect that the Israeli government was retaliating against the women for having allegedly spoken out against the excesses of the Israeli occupation against Palestinians. During recent visits to Jordan the women were alleged to have reported the mistreatment of Palestinians at the hands of the Israelis.

FIRE!

NAZARETH — The Galilee village of Mu'awiya, near Taibeh, witnessed a spate of fires recently, suspected of having been started deliberately.

The latest such incident involved a barn owned by Najib Youssef Mahamid, which burned for over two hours with no sign of any fire truck or police.

Residents are concerned over police indifference, and the lack of investigation of the crimes.

LOCAL LABOUR COUNCILS FAVOURED

SHAFA 'AMR — The Shafa 'Amr labour council has categorically rejected a Histadrut (Israel labour federation) recommendation that would incorporate Arab villages in the area within the town's administrative jurisdiction.

The decision was taken at a meeting of the council members here, during which secretary general Khalil Mushe'lel admitted that the Histadrut practiced discrimination against Arab workers.

Despite the fact that Arabs account for 80 percent of the membership of two Histadrut organisations, the "Mifahim" and the "Keren Pituah" fund, Arabs have no representatives on the boards.

The meeting urged the Histadrut to set up local village labour councils, and denounced the labour federation's lack of response to their request for help in the development of their town and of other Arab villages.

STUDENT COUNCILLOR DETAINED

Gaza military authorities handed Qasem Ali 'Azzat, Bir Zeit student council member, a six-month town restriction order. 'Azzat, a resident of Beit Hanoun village at the northern tip of the Gaza Strip, must report daily to to Gaza police headquarters.

Bir Zeit University students back at school in time for final examinations, June 20/JN

June 20, 1983

PUNISHED ON SUSPICION

JERUSALEM — The Israeli military authorities have decided not to allow Arab students detained recently on allegations of stone throwing to sit for the *tawjihi* (high school matriculation) exams, which started June 19.

Some 20 Palestinian students from Am'ari refugee camp, near Ramallah, were arrested recently on suspicion of having stoned Israeli vehicles.

The students were identified by photos taken during the incident. Israeli security authorities said that due to technical reasons, the students would be unable to sit for the examination.

GREEN PATROL SUPPORTED

JERUSALEM — The Supreme Court of Israel turned down an appeal, presented by several Beduin tribes, protesting excesses of the Israel Natural Reserves Authority's notorious "Green Patrol".

This is the first time such an appeal, based on principle, has been made against the Green Patrols for their harassment of Beduin while carring out their "duties."

STUDENTS SENT HOME

JERICHO — The Jordanian authorities have expelled several Palestinian West Bank students, who are currently in undergraduate studies at Jordanian universities.

The students were deported to the West Bank in what several observers believe is another Jordanian pressure against West Bank residents.

AL-AQSA TRIAL POSTPONED

JERUSALEM — The trial of the Jewish fanatics, who are accused of attempting to break into al-Aqsa Mosque, has been postponed for another two months.

Court sources said the postponement was decided upon because the district attorney was sick and could not attend the proceedings.

MEDICAL CRISIS FROM CURFEW

HEBRON — The Red Crescent Society of Hebron has decided to set up a "temporary" medical unit at its headquarters here, in response to urgent appeals by residents.

The city's medical services have been severely curtailed in the wake of the curfew imposed by the Israeli military authorities on the centre of the town.

The Israeli troops have cordoned off the area which houses the town's business and commercial district, the central bus station and medical centre.

The new unit will be staffed four hours a day.

WORKER DISMISSED

JERUSALEM — An Israeli lumber company in West Jerusalem fired an Arab employee, Daoud Abu al-Homs, for no apparent reason.

Al-Homs alleges that he was issued with his dismissal notice after the manager assaulted him.

He said he plans to sue the man and the company.

June 21, 1983

SETTLEMENT GAME

JERUSALEM — A group of Israeli "settlers" from Jerusalem's impoverished "Ir Ganim" quarter spent their second night at their newly established "settlement" on the Hametsoa plateau outside West Jerusalem.

The makeshift "settlement" is now home for some 30 Jewish families who moved into their new dwellings in a daring midnight operation.

Under slogans such as "Settlements are Temporary, but the Slums are Permanent," the group, calling itself "Shahak," selected one of West Jerusalem's impoverished areas to pitch their plastic tents.

A number of opposition Knesset members yesterday visited the "settlement" and promised to provide the settlers with assistance.

The Israeli police have launched an investigation, following a complaint by the Israel Lands Administration.

MELONS STOPPED

JERICHO — The Jordanian authorities have stopped issuing export permits to Jericho's watermelon growers.

The Jordanians claim that the melons now being exported to their country are not produced by Palestinian growers.

Kibbutzim in the Jordan Valley also produce melons and citrus.

HAJ RESTRICTIONS

JERUSALEM — Muslims residing within the 'green line' will be allowed to make their annual pilgrimage to Mecca, but only on the condition that they apply to the Ministry of Interior first, the Israeli authorities announced.

Muslims from the West Bank and Gaza normally travel to the holy city via Jordan.

FIRE CLOSES DAMIA

JERICHO — A fire broke out on the Jordanian side of the Damia bridge forcing the Jordanian frontier officials to close it, and divert traffic to the nearby King Hussein-Allenby bridge.

In addition to passenger traffic, the bridges allow West Bank farmers to export their products to Jordan, and thence to other parts of the Arab world.

WATER WITHHELD

RAMALLAH — The Israeli military government refused to sanction a project aimed at improving the precarious water supply situation of several West Bank villages in the Ramallah district.

Two of the villages, Beit Dukko, and Qubaibeh, planned to install new water pumps, but they have been thwarted by the 'civil administration.'

They charge that the government is holding up their development because they have refused to join the Israeli-inspired Village Leagues.

VAT IN HEBRON

The Israeli VAT men renewed their campaign against Hebronites. Doctors have been singled out for special attention. Some of them have received tax assessments of up to IS120,000; the average bill fluctuates between IS60,000 and IS90,000.

Residents charge that the taxation authorities have no justification for demanding such huge sums — and the assessments they mail to recipients are often contradictory.

Palestinians consider VAT to be an illegally imposed tax but Israel has backed up its current campaign with a recent High Court decision 'legalising' it.

SAWT AL-MARA'A: WOMEN'S ISSUES FIND THEIR VOICE

by Awad Abdel Fattah

A major complaint of the local women's movement against the Palestinian press has been the scant attention it has paid to the problems and role of Palestinian women in the occupied territories. From time to time, letters from women appeared in the newspapers and magazines expressing this dissatisfaction, but to little effect. Now the women's committees have taken the bull by the horns and have brought out their own magazine.

Last month, *Sawt al-Mara'a* (The Voice of Woman) was on the newsstands for the first time and it more than fills the space left by local papers. The 64-page first issue included 25 articles dealing with most aspects of the social life of Palestinian women and their activities. Interviews with mothers of martyrs, women ex-prisoners, women workers and members of the women's committees occupy places of pride in the magazine. Unfortunately it will only be an annual publication.

One of the most interesting aspects of all the material in the magazine is the merger of Palestinian politics with the specific issues affecting the women's struggle. This reflects the adoption of the concept of the interrelationship of the social and political liberation in the struggle of women for equality.

In a short introductory article by the staff laying out the policy of *Sawt al-Mara'a*, they write: "The liberation of the Palestinian woman is bound up with the general struggle for political independence and the achievement of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. . . this is a necessary condition for later transition to a radical solution of the problem of women through stages of struggle to reach a society in which equality between men and women will be achieved."

The one-and-a-half page editorial deals with decisions taken at the 16th Palestine National Council meeting in Algiers and their importance, and with general Israeli practices against the Palestinians. The editorial calls for continued resistance.

A short theoretical review of the issue of women at work and her position in relation to the process of production is the first article in the magazine. The study is a summary of a lecture by sociologist Dr Najwa Makhoul on International Woman's Day, 1983. Among the main issues she raises are: the myths and allegations surrounding the position of women in production and scientific evidence to refute them; labour relations and health; the struggles of the working class to change working conditions and the particular conditions of the struggle of working women.

The article explains the deliterious affect of women's work in the home and the exploitation of working women. ". . .This prevents the woman from becoming an effective social force and from creating a new reality," said Makhoul.

An article about the conditions of Palestinian women in jail followed. The author affirms that "the Palestinian woman has had an outstanding role in the national struggle alongside her male comrades. . . and (she) has made a big sacrifice, and there were those who were martyred, for the sake of national duty. Also some were arrested and are still being held in the prisons of the occupation."

Information about the detention and health conditions of three women prisoners are given as examples. Of particular concern is that of Miriam Abd al-Majid, from Ain al-Hilweh camp, South Lebanon, who was arrested during the Israeli invasion. She has had a nervous breakdown as a result of the treatment she received in detention.

The article is followed by short interviews with an ex-prisoner from Gaza about her experiences inside and with a woman whose son was martyred in the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1978. Both expressed pride at being involved in the national struggle against Israeli occupation.

Under the headline "The Problems of the Palestinian Woman in the Village", Nura Qarat, a social worker, discusses the difficulties facing women in remote and isolated communities. She cites as primary problems women's inferior position and their complete subordination to men. Then comes the absence of essential services and social and cultural centres and the difficult economic life. At the same time she refers to the growing interest of charitable societies and national institutions in the villages in the past few years. She explains that opening educational, health and literacy centres has lessened the isolation of women and contributed to social and educational development.

In a separate article on illiteracy, the importance of education for women is stressed for the contribution it makes to the bringing up of the next generation.

Palestinian embroidery, one of the most lasting symbols of Palestinian heritage, also receives a lot of space. Differences in style and history are explained through interviews with old women who have been sewing since their youth. The article is introduced with references to the importance of reviving and maintaining embroidery as a craft.

"The Israeli authorities are working to strip the Palestinian people of its identity, heritage and history – its means to achieve this are many, such as the submergence and distortion of Palestinian culture and claiming parts of it as its own."

It adds, "To confront this bitter reality, we must protect and maintain all symbols and forms which embody Palestinian identity."

There are many other articles which deal with the same subjects in different ways. The magazine ends with a set of articles on the education of children and the specific role women play in that.

Palestinian women in the occupied territories received the magazine with pleasure and interest. They believe it will contribute to the process of the women's social and political struggle. "Through this magazine, we will be able to express ourselves and draw focus on all women's problems," said Fatma Dar wish, a teacher from Abu Dis.

Others said it should come out monthly instead of yearly, "so that it would be more effective and contributory to the struggle of women," another woman said.

Fadwa Labadi, a member of the General Women's Committee and of the editorial staff of *Sawt al-Mara'a*, told *Al Fajr* that the absence of a local women's magazine, "which would assure the presence and the continuity of the women's struggle," was one of the main reasons behind the publication of the magazine.

Editors of newspapers also welcomed the issuing of a women's magazine. Sam'an Khoury, editor of English *Al Fajr*, echoed the views of colleagues when he said, "The magazine is good. It has very important topics and shows an understanding of the situation of women in the occupied territories. It's nice to see a women's magazine not devoted to fashions. It examines reality, but also says it can be changed."

THE CULTURAL WAR AGAINST ZIONISM

by Awad Abdel Fattah

The long-awaited dream of Palestinian artists inside Israel's 1948 borders for an independent Palestinian art centre has finally materialised. Already thriving, the Haifa-based Popular Arts Centre provides work space and financial backing for almost all art groups in the Galilee, Triangle and Naqab. The PAC sees itself as central in present moves to revive and spare Palestinian culture in the Palestinian community inside Israel. This old idea was the motive for establishing such a centre. Artists in particular have been acutely aware that for Palestinians in the state of Israel, many aspects of their culture and national heritage have been neglected. Blame for this has been put mostly on the Israeli government which, according to them, has carried out a deliberate deculturation policy.

Toward the end of 1982, a founding committee of nine members was formed to start working on the implementation of the project. Among the members are well-known Palestinian poet Samih al-Qassim, writer Emile Habibi and artist Abed Abedi. Al-Qassim, who is now director of the centre, lawyer Mohammad Mia'ari as legal consultant, and theatre director Riyad Masarwa were appointed to the administrative committee at the same time.

The centre has begun working out of two offices while funds and premises for an all-purpose centre are gathered. "We sent letters," said al-Qassim, "to a number of friendly institutions and groups outside, asking for donations for our project." According to him, several groups contributed but the most generous donation was from the American-Palestinian Culture Organisation. A lot of money has also been collected in local donations.

The next step, after initial sums were gathered, was to call together all artistic groups and individual artists for a meeting to discuss the project and suggest programme ideas. From the meeting in late 1982, the idea emerged of organising a travelling cultural festival to include paintings, music, poetry, theatre and traditional dances and *debka*. "This progamme," explained Samih, "for which rehearsals have been underway for three months, would appear in all Palestinian villages and towns."

The five artists have met separately and formed a committee to organise mobile exhibits, not only in the usual big towns, but in all villages, many of which have never been visited by an artist. Samih explained that these exhibits will have a distinctive character. Artists will explain the works on display to spread knowledge and awareness of art.

The one area where the PAC can foresee major difficulty is with cinema. Samih told *Al Fajr* they will not be able to establish a cinema movement because of financial constraints and lack of trained technicians. But the centre has invited the few Palestinians who have studied cinematography and given them the job of making documentaries. Currently the centre is working on a film about the city of Jaffa. The next is planned to be on Palestinian handicrafts.

Counter Culture War

"Our war against Zionism has never been only military, but political and cultural as well." In these few words, al-Qassim defined the working principle of the centre: to fight "all forms of distortion and attempts to bury our national heritage, which is an integral part on our identity." He added that another objective put forward by the centre is to spread and develop a comprehensive understanding of culture, and "not only to concentrate on literature such as poetry and stories."

Another major task is to encourage existing groups artistically, ideologically and politically. Samih said that the cultural activities of the centre will not be restricted to a partisan or sectarian

continued on page 13